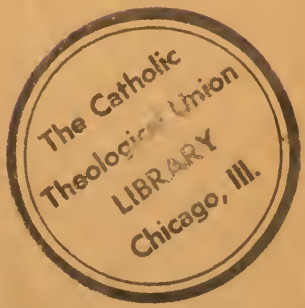
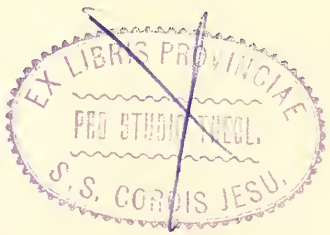
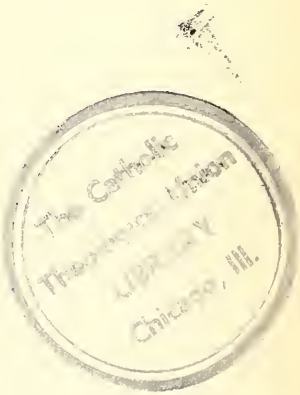

The Catholic
Theological Union
LIBRARY
Chicago, Ill.

MID-AMERICA
An Historical Quarterly

VOLUME XXII
(New Series, Vol. XI)
1940





PUBLISHED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO

I 29 i
v. 22
6868

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXII

ARTICLES

La Salle's Expedition of 1682. *Jean Delanglez* 3

Jean Garnier, Librarian. *W. Kane* 75, 191

Private Schools in St. Louis, 1809-1821. *John Francis McDermott* 96

The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician. *Theodore E. Treutlein* 122

Pedro Sanchez, Founder of the Jesuits in New Spain. *Jerome V. Jacobsen* 157

Propaganda in the American Revolution. *Charles H. Metzger* . 243

New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico. *J. Manuel Espinosa* 262

A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683. *Jean Delanglez* . 278

DOCUMENTS

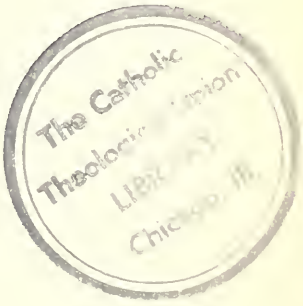
The Texas Missions in 1785. *J. Autrey Dabbs* 38

Death Site of Father Marquette. *G. J. Garraghan* 223

NOTES AND COMMENT 59, 142, 226, 306

BOOK REVIEWS 62, 146, 234, 311

INDEX 315



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
CARLI: Consortium of Academic and Research Libraries in Illinois

http://www.archive.org/details/midamericahistor22unse

Recent Books

by

Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D.

SOME LA SALLE JOURNEYS, $2.25

JOURNAL OF JEAN CAVELIER, $2.50

FRONTENAC AND THE JESUITS, $3.20

(To make these excellent works more available reductions in price are made to libraries and teachers.)

◈

Scholarly research, bringing new viewpoints and new findings, these books are necessary for all students of American History and interesting to all readers.

◈

Published by

THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

6525 SHERIDAN ROAD · CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Subscribe to

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Quarterly

50c a copy. $2.00 by the year. $2.50 a year in foreign countries.
Back numbers and volumes are available.

SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION OR REQUESTS TO

MID-AMERICA, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Chicago

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

✦

THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

LAKE SHORE CAMPUS

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

HOME STUDY

✦

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

MEDICINE

LAW

DENTISTRY

SOCIAL WORK

COMMERCE

NURSING

SAINT BERNARD'S HOSPITAL UNIT

OAK PARK HOSPITAL UNIT

SAINT ANNE'S HOSPITAL UNIT

SAINT ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL UNIT

COLUMBUS HOSPITAL UNIT

SAINT FRANCIS HOSPITAL UNIT

✦

THE SUMMER SESSION

✦

THE AFFILIATED HIGH SCHOOLS

SAINT IGNATIUS HIGH SCHOOL

LOYOLA ACADEMY

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

LA SALLE'S EXPEDITION OF 1682 . . . *Jean Delanglez* 3

DOCUMENTS: THE TEXAS MISSIONS IN 1785 . . . .

. . . . . *J. Autrey Dabbs* 38

NOTES AND COMMENT 59

BOOK REVIEWS 62

SAYRE, *The Way Forward;* SARGENT, *Our Land and Our Lady;* DAWES, *A Journal of Reparations;* HAMMANG, *The Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century;* CASTANEDA, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936,* Volume IV; KANE, *Catholic Library Problems.*

MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
PAUL J. FOIK
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

Printed by
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JANUARY 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 1

La Salle's Expedition of 1682

La Salle began and completed his epoch-making journey down the Mississippi River in the first half of 1682. One peculiar feature of the event is that we have no autograph account or map made by the explorer himself. In fact, there exists no account of the whole expedition, autograph or copy, which was certainly written by La Salle. There is, to be sure, an autograph fragment left by the pathfinder,[1] wherein he speaks of his journey to the sea, but this can hardly be called a record of the trip, for in it he merely comments on the narrative of the De Soto expedition as written by Garcilaso de la Vega, comparing what he himself had seen with the fanciful description by the Inca of what purported to be the Mississippi. Besides this there is an autograph letter of La Salle written in early October of 1682, which contains, naturally, reference to the voyage to the Gulf but no specific details. For these La Salle refers his correspondent to other sources, namely, to a letter he had written to Father Lefebvre, Provincial of the Recollects in Paris, to a relation by Henry de Tonti, and to the *procès-verbaux* made by La Métairie.[2] The latter are notarial documents. La Salle's writings about the expedition are indeed meagre. But added to the above-mentioned notarial statements there are two narratives of the expedition, the one rather sketchy was written by Father Membré in the course of the trip,[3] the other quite detailed was written by Tonti

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:188-189v, printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, hereinafter quoted as Margry, II, 196-201. This document, like most of those in this compilation is badly reproduced.

[2] La Salle to ——, (October 1682), BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 290.

[3] Membré to [Leroux], June 3, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:163-165v, printed in Margry, II, 206-212, English translation in M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette, A Critical Biography of Father Zénobe Membré, O. F. M.,* New York, [1934], 207-214.

immediately on his return.[4] Both of these we have as copies made by nobody knows whom.

In the first months of the following year, 1683, an official relation or report was drawn up. The author of this may well have had access to all of the sources enumerated above, that is, to the letters of La Salle, Membré, and Tonti, and to La Métairie's *procès-verbaux,* either in their original form or in copy. As a matter of fact the author actually made use of only one La Salle letter and those of Membré and Tonti. The identity of the author of the official report is the subject of the present article.

The more important of the two *procès-verbaux* made by La Métairie is the one which he drew up on April 9, 1682, near the mouth of the Mississippi. Two copies of it have come down to us, and both have been published; one by Margry, the other by Boismare, republished by Gravier.[5] The act of April 9, 1682, has often been translated into English.[6] Copies or duplicates of the two documents were sent to France at the beginning of October 1682. La Salle wrote:

> I am sending you a copy of the *procès-verbaux* of what took place [during the expedition]. You will find it more in detail in the relation which M. de Tonti has written and in the letter which I am writing to Father Hyacinth Lefebvre, Recollect, a copy of which I am also sending you. If Reverend Father Zénobe Membré, Recollect, goes over to France, since he has always been with me, he will be able to give you an account of everything. If he does not go over to France, I begged him to write to you. Kindly make inquiries about it.[7]

The above passage from La Salle's autograph letter requires immediate comments in view of what is to be said about the authorship of the official report. To whom the relation of Tonti was originally sent—to the Prince of Conti, to Frontenac, to Renaudot or to Bernou—is not certain. Father Membré, it is true, in his letter of June 3, 1682, says that Tonti is to write to Frontenac, and that his correspondent, the superior of the Recollect of Quebec, Father Valentin Leroux, will learn from Tonti's

---

[4] Tonti to ——, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165-168v, printed, French and English in parallel columns in Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette,* 215-229.

[5] Margry, II, 186-193, published a copy in the Archives des Colonies (AC), F 3, 241. He refers, III, 639, to an older copy in the Archives de la Marine, (probably AC, C 13C, 3:28), which is in G. Gravier, *Découvertes et Etablissements de Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen dans l'Amérique du Nord,* Rouen, 1870, *Appendix* XII, 386 ff.

[6] J. Sparks, *Life of La Salle,* Boston, 1844, Appendix IV, 194-202; T. Falconer, *On the discovery of the Mississippi,* London, 1844, 35-44, etc.

[7] La Salle to ——, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 290.

letter "what I have not time to tell you about our discovery."[8] It is also true that in November, La Barre wrote to Seignelay: "The Sieur de la Salle had the Sieur de Tonti write that he had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi at the sea. I have had no news from him since my arrival [beginning of October]. He was ill. . . ."[9] But this does not necessarily stamp the extant relation or letter of Tonti as a copy of that which was sent to Frontenac.

The relation spoken of by La Salle is very likely the letter Tonti had written two months previously from Michilimackinac. It has come down to us in copy form, and, like the letter of La Salle just quoted, it is found among Bernou's papers. There is no addressee, no clausula, and it may be considered certain that the copy as we have it now is not a copy of the complete letter or relation which Tonti wrote. It was his habit when writing letters to ask for advancement, for pecuniary help, and in general to recount his services up to the time of writing, whether the letter was addressed to government officials or to private individuals; in the latter case he usually asked his correspondents to intercede for him. Moreover, internal evidence shows that this relation was a letter addressed to an individual, and was not an official report; see for instance the sentence "et autres choses que je mettrois si je n'avois pas peur de vous estre importun."[10] Tonti's letter was "transliterated"[11] either at Michilimackinac or later in France; Bernou somehow obtained a copy of this, but not of the letter La Salle wrote to Father Lefebvre.[12] This copy of Tonti's letter and the copy of Membré's letter are in the same handwriting, apparently that of an unidentified professional copyist.[13]

---

[8] Membré to [Leroux], BN, Clairambault, 1016:164; Margry, II, 211. Near the end of the official report it is said that the letter of Tonti was written to the governor; the assertion may be an inference of the compiler based on this passage of Membré's letter.

[9] La Barre to Seignelay, November 12, 1682, AC, C 11A, 6:63; Margry, II, 302.

[10] Tonti to ——, July 23, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 160:166v.

[11] Cf. "Tonti Letters," in MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 210.

[12] Unless the fragment of La Salle's autograph letter among Bernou's papers is what the explorer wrote to Father Lefebvre, BN, Clairambault, 1016:157-162v; Margry, II, 164-180; English translation in *Magazine of American History,* II, 1878, 552-561. The beginning and the end of the letter are missing; it narrates the events of the journey to the sea from "shortly before Christmas," 1681, until the party reached the mouth of the Missouri, February 13, 1682. The compiler of the official record had not this letter in the first months of 1683, or if he had, no specific details found in the letter were incorporated into the report.

[13] Cf. W. G. Leland, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* I, *Libraries,* Washington, D. C., 1932, 172.

The letter of Father Membré gives a sketchy account of what took place during the expedition until June 3, the date of the copy of the letter. The missionary did not know then how long La Salle's illness would last, and he accordingly notified his superior of what had taken place up to this date. On June 4, Tonti was sent ahead, not, as is said in the official report, to send news of the discovery to Frontenac, but rather, as Tonti himself said, to open the caches made on the Miami River during the preceding winter,[14] and to go to Michilimackinac to buy the necessary clothes for La Salle's men, some of whom were to settle in the Illinois country, and others among the Miami. Sending news to Frontenac was only a secondary consideration.

Quite apart from what is said in the official report about the progress of La Salle after his recovery, one thing is certain: La Salle was at Michilimackinac at the end of September or the beginning of October. The letter which he wrote from this post was brought to Quebec by Father Membré.[15] Judging from this letter, La Salle did not know whether Father Membré would go back to France, this year at least;[16] nor did the missionary himself know. Rumors had reached Michilimackinac that Frontenac had been recalled, and that a new governor was coming to take his place.[17] When the missionary arrived at Quebec, it is likely he saw which way the wind was blowing, and decided to return. There were other reasons why Father Membré left Canada when he did,[18] but they are irrelevant and have no bearing upon the point under discussion. The only pertinent point is that he went to France. Membré, according to Le Clercq, arrived at Quebec just in time to sail with Frontenac.[19] Accordingly it was not incumbent on him to write to La Salle's correspondent, since he was going to the mother country.

Beside the relation of Tonti spoken of in La Salle's letter, there are two other accounts by the explorer's lieutenant: one

---

[14] Cf. the fragment of La Salle's autograph letter, BN, Clairambault, 1016:157; Margry, II, 165.

[15] La Barre to Seignelay, November 14, 1682, Margry, II, 303; cf. Tonti's relation, Margry, I, 613.

[16] La Salle thought Membré was still in Quebec in the spring of 1683, cf. La Salle to La Barre, April 2, 1683, Margry, II, 313; June 4, 1683, *ibid.*, 325.

[17] Cf. La Salle to ——, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 289.

[18] Dudouyt to Laval, April 11, 1684, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Lettres, Carton N, no. 79; May 1, 1684, *ibid.*, no. 83; May 26, 1684, *ibid.*, no. 79.

[19] J. G. Shea, ed. *First Establishment of the Faith in New France. By Father Christian Le Clercq,* 2 vols., New York, 1881, II, 195.

written in 1684,[20] which did not reach France before 1685, and another first written in 1692,[21] recopied in 1693.[22] The first arrived in Europe too late to be used by the author of the official report, which was written in the first months of 1683,[23] certainly before April. Another relation which also arrived too late to be used is by the younger La Salle, who returned to France with his namesake in 1684.[24]

The identity of the author of the official report has been a moot question among writers on the beginnings of the Mississippi Valley. The great majority think La Salle wrote it; a few hold Father Membré to be the author. As a matter of fact, neither wrote it, for it is a composition by Claude Bernou who embodied in it: 1) Tonti's letter of July 23, 1682, 2) Membré's letter of June 3, of the same year, 3) a few details taken from La Salle's letter of October 1682, and 4) what the abbé knew at that time of the geography of the Gulf of Mexico and of the Mississippi Valley. Before presenting in detail the evidence on which this contention is based, it will be well to summarize briefly the various opinions as to this authorship.

Thomassy found it by accident in Carton C, no. 67[2]: no. 15, *pièce* 4, in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, today, Dépôt des Cartes et Plans or Archives du Service Hydrographique. He first published it in 1859,[25] and reprinted it the following year in his larger work on the geology of Louisiana,[26] It is from the latter work that the text reproduced below is taken, since the present state of affairs in France has made it impossible to secure a photograph of the document from Paris. Such a photograph might perhaps have shown whether or not the document is in

---

[20] Tonti to ——, November 14, 1684, two copies in BN, Clairambault, 1016:220-226 and 267-279; printed in Margry, I, 573-616. The French text and a page for page English translation was published by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of Henry de Tonty,* Chicago, 1898.

[21] BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485:103-108.

[22] AC, C 13C, 3:128-141v. Cf. Tonti to Villermont, September 2, 1693, BN, Mss. fr. 22803:285-285 bis, printed in Margry, V, 3-5, under the date of September 11, 1694, and Alphonse de Tonti to Villermont, BN, Mss. fr., 22803:316-316v. This second relation first appeared in English in Falconer, *On the discovery of the Mississippi,* London, 1844, 47-96, and has been often republished.

[23] The title of the report has that the discovery was made "last year, 1682." Bernou left Paris for Rome sometime in April.

[24] Margry, I, 547-579; reprinted with an English translation on opposite pages by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of the discovery of the Mississippi River written from the Narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, otherwise known as the little M. de la Salle,* Chicago, 1898.

[25] R. Thomassy, *De la Salle et ses relations inédites de la découverte du Mississippi,* Paris, 1859.

[26] Thomassy, *Géologie pratique de la Louisiane,* New Orleans and Paris, 1860.

the handwriting of Bernou, unless, of course, it too is a copy. In the light of the evidence to be presented, however, it will be abundantly clear that no reference to the handwriting is necessary. There is a contemporary copy, slightly different from that printed by Thomassy among the Renaudot papers, Bibliothèque nationale, Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions, vol. 7485, ff. 170-175v, a photostat of which is in the Library of Congress. Judging from the handwriting, the copyist who made this transcript was also employed in making other transcripts for Renaudot. The differences between the two documents consist in punctuation, capitalization, accentuation, paragraphing, spelling, most of which was likely introduced by the editor, Thomassy. The few variants which are not clearly misprints, will be indicated in the notes to the text of the report. The last word "Monseigneur" was missing in the Renaudot copy; someone completed the sentence by adding "du Roy," below the word "protection."

Thomassy holds that La Salle "speaking in the third person" is the author, and when Gravier republished the official report in 1870, he wrote: "This document bears the name of Father Zénobe Membré, but it is by La Salle."[27] From this it might seem that Gravier saw the document itself, but the fact is otherwise. It "bears the name" not only of Membré, but of Dautray, as well as of La Salle, and Tonti's name is more prominent than any other, except that of La Salle himself. The reason for Gravier's statement, however, is the similarity between the official report and the account attributed to Membré in Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith.* Later in his book Gravier referred again to the official report as follows: "This document is attributed by La Salle to Father Zénobe who brought it to France, but it is by La Salle himself."[28] It would be quite naive to expect Gravier to give any proof for his statements, for he belonged to the school of writers for whom history is a series of gratuitous assertions and repeated groundless affirmations. Where, for instance, does La Salle say that he himself wrote it, or what ground is there for the positive statement that it is by La Salle himself? Moreover, since Gravier does not give evidence for his assertion that La Salle said it was by Membré, one can hardly put credence in his personal and contrary conviction that it is by La Salle himself. He claims that La Salle said the document is by Membré, but he, Gravier, knows it was written by La Salle.

---

[27] G. Gravier, *Découvertes et Etablissements de Cavelier de la Salle,* 172, note 1.

[28] *Ibid.,* 180, note 1.

When Parkman first published his *Discovery of the Great West,* he spoke of the official report as follows:

The narrative ascribed to Membré and published by Le Clercq is based on the document preserved in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, entitled *Relation de la Découverte de l'Embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi faite par le Sieur de la Salle, l'année passée, 1682.* The writer of the narrative [Le Clercq] has used it very freely, copying the greater part verbatim, with occasional additions of a kind which seem to indicate that he had taken part in the expedition. The *Relation de la Découverte,* though written in the third person, is the official report of the discovery made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membré. Membré's letter of August (*i. e.* June), is a brief and succinct statement made immediately after his return.[29]

When, after 1878, Parkman republished his book and expanded it into *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* the only change he made in the above note was the omission of the last sentence.[30]

In 1872, Harrisse listed the official report as being printed in Thomassy, adding: "Le Clercq published it in part (in the [*First*] *Establishment of the Faith)* attributing it to Father Zénobe Membré who brought it to Paris, but it is by Cavelier de La Salle."[31] Again this is mere affirmation unsupported by any evidence.

A rather peculiar omission of all mention of the document is noticed in Margry's compilation. In the introduction to the first volume he speaks of the contemporary memoirs in print at the time he began to gather up documents for the history of La Salle. He lists six accounts of contemporaries, the last being the abridged journal of Joutel published in 1713.[32] To these he adds the work of La Potherie, published in 1722,[33] but he fails to mention that La Potherie is not a contemporary and that his work is second and third hand in all pertaining to La Salle. The reason for the inclusion, however, is not far to seek. La Potherie extolls La Salle in a rhetorical passage, which is easily accounted for considering the time when it was written.

---

[29] F. Parkman, *The Discovery of the Great West,* Boston, 1869, 272, note 1.

[30] *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* Boston, 1907, 276, note 1.

[31] H. Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France et des Pays adjacents, 1545-1700,* Paris, 1872, 335.

[32] Margry, I, *Introduction,* xv-xvi.

[33] C. C. Le Roy, sieur de Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Voyage de l'Amérique,* Paris, 1722.

Margry cannot be said to have been unaware of the publication of the official report by Thomassy; neither could he have failed to know Gravier had republished it, for he and Gravier were friends, and, at the time, mutual admirers.[34] Moreover, Margry also knew Parkman, to whom he had taught French;[35] and it is unlikely that they should not have spoken of this memoir, seeing that Parkman had it before he knew Margry, and had mentioned it in his *Discovery of the Great West,* published in 1869. Neither can it be said that Margry was only publishing what was still in manuscript form. As Shea has pointed out,[36] he "unwarrantably extended the collection by repeating what had already elsewhere been printed, sometimes at greater length."[37] In the introduction to volume one, Margry speaks of Membré's relation as being in Le Clercq's book,[38] but says nothing of the similarity between it and the official report. Did he, by any chance, see the implication contained in an admission that the document was by La Salle? For if Margry's contention was true,[39] namely, that La Salle had reached the Mississippi before 1673, the explorer would not have failed in 1682 to mention his previous voyage if he were the author of the report, and if, in fact, he had sighted the great river ten years before.

In 1881, when Shea published his translation of Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la Foy,* he noted that the official report was slightly abridged from the account of Membré in this work. "Parkman thinks it the official report 'made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by Membré.' It seems strange, however, to assume that the fuller document given here by Le Clercq must be drawn from a shorter form."[40] The authorship of the official report puzzled Shea as it had puzzled Parkman; both were misled by the ascription to Membré of the very similar narrative in Le Clercq; whereas the ascription is erroneous. The last point will be shown in a subsequent article, for the paternity of the two accounts could not be treated at once without risking a confusion of the issues. Suffice it to say here, that if it can be shown

---

[34] G. Gravier, *Cavelier de la Salle de Rouen,* Paris, 1871, 5-6.

[35] Cf. *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* preface to the eleventh edition; Parkman to Margry, December 11, 1872, in *Smith College Studies in History, VIII,* 1922-1923, 132.

[36] J. G. Shea, *The Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble,* New York, 1879.

[37] J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* Boston and New York, 1884-1888, IV, 245.

[38] Margry, I, *Introduction,* xix.

[39] Cf. *Some La Salle Journeys,* Chicago, 1938, 43-61.

[40] J. G. Shea, *First Establishment of the Faith,* II, 161, note.

that the official report is not by Membré, then, since the account in Le Clercq is an almost verbatim transcript of the official report, it follows that the author of the one is also the author of the other. Hence all that will remain to be shown is the source of the additions to the so-called Membré account in the *First Establishment of the Faith.*

In his critical essay on the sources for the history of the Mississippi Valley, Winsor speaks of the official report in the following manner:

> For the events of these two years we have two main sources of information. First the "Relation de la descouverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière Mississipi dans le Golfe de Mexique, faite par le Sieur de la Salle, l'année passée, 1682," which was first published by Thomassy; the original is preserved in the Archives Scientifiques de la Marine, and though written in the third person it is held to constitute La Salle's Official Report, though perhaps written for him by Membré.[41]

Winsor gives as his reference the passage in Parkman's *La Salle* quoted above. Where he speaks of the 'original,' he clearly means that the document was the only copy to be had. He does not imply that La Salle wrote it, nor that an original autograph is extant. He merely means to indicate where the text printed by Thomassy is to be found. The second source of information mentioned by Winsor is "the narrative ascribed to Membré which is printed in Le Clercq . . . , and which seems based on the document already named," namely, on the official report.

Later, Winsor had occasion to speak once more of the document. He was trying to ascertain the source or sources of Hennepin's *New Discovery.* Shea had branded the narrative of the mythical voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi in 1680 as the "work of a literary jobber who . . . interpolated the citations from Membré's in Le Clercq."

> Membré's journal [in Le Clercq] is very like a *Relation* which is preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, which Parkman suspects was La Salle's official report, drawn up perhaps by Membré, if indeed it was not written by La Salle himself, as some suppose. That Hennepin got access to this in the manuscript, and was not compelled to draw upon Le Clercq's printed volume, is not unlikely, though it has been alleged that he more confidently used the book of Le Clercq because the chance of detection was decreased from the suppression of that printed narrative. There is certainly room for doubt as to the authorship of this *Relation*—it is given by Margry,—and just precisely

---

[41] *Narrative and Critical History of America,* IV, 225.

what are the separate and combined connections of La Salle, Membré, and Hennepin with it is open to conjecture. It was very likely a compilation from various sources, made in Paris for presentation to Colbert, and perhaps put in shape by the Abbé Bernon [Bernou], as has been alleged.[42]

In the latter part of the above quotation, the author passes without warning from the official report, of which he speaks in the first part, to the *Relation des descouvertes,* which was certainly written by Bernou. Thus what are in reality two distinct documents are here made appear one and the same. With regard to the official report, clearly Winsor was still accepting Parkman's views. Incidentally it may be stated that Hennepin used Le Clercq's printed volume for his *New Discovery.* He had no access to the official report. The suppression of Le Clercq's book is a legend which either arose from the misreading of a text or which was propagated by those who made use of a later edition of the *Morale pratique.*[43] The book was not suppressed; on the contrary there were three editions in two years time, and the present writer has seen a dozen copies of this "annihilated" edition in the libraries of this country alone.

Others who have written about La Salle and who have been concerned with the authorship of documents have simply taken for granted that the explorer was the author of the official report.[44] A few years ago, however, the traditional ascription was challenged by Father Habig.[45] "Historians, knowing of the Official Report of 1682, have failed to ascribe it to its real author, Father Membré." They were led astray by some statements in the *First Establishment of the Faith.* "The fact that the Official Report and the narrative portion of Father Membré's Relation in Le Clercq's work are but slightly different, far from indicating that the latter is dependent on the former, argues rather for the priority of the latter over the former." In other words, the account in Le Clercq is prior to the official report, because the latter is shorter. This view was advanced because it was supposed that the nine pages in the translation by Shea were written by Membré, as was the account ascribed to him by Le Clercq. Father Habig's next argument runs thus:

Parkman himself found it remarkable that the Official Report should

[42] J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac,* Boston and New York, 1894, 286-287.
[43] *Frontenac and the Jesuits,* Chicago, 1939, 105, note 12.
[44] M. de Villiers du Terrage, *La Louisiane, Histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives, (1681-1819),* Paris, 1929, 25; *L'expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique, 1684-1687,* Paris, 1931, 33.
[45] *The Franciscan Père Marquette,* 234-243.

have been written in the third person (a remarkable circumstance, indeed, if one supposes that La Salle wrote the report, though the natural form, if someone else made the report for La Salle); . . .

Parkman merely noted the fact that it is written in the third person. Someone else assuredly wrote the document but certainly not Father Membré. From the letter of La Salle written at Michilimackinac, Father Habig then shows that the explorer is not the author of the document. The man who is, as will be seen, the real author of the report is ruled out as follows:

That the Abbé Bernou, the man who had prepared the other official report for the years 1679-1681, did not compile the report for the expedition of 1682 is evident from the fact that he was not at the time on friendly terms with La Salle, and was not reconciled with the explorer until March 28, 1684.

Even if Bernou had not been on friendly terms with La Salle at the beginning of 1683, one wonders what would have prevented him from compiling the report if he had the materials at hand. But this unfriendliness, the only evidence for which is a statement of de Villiers,[46] did not exist at all. De Villiers read a passage in one of Bernou's letters printed in Margry too hastily.[47] Since proof of this has already been given elsewhere, there is no reason for repeating it here.[48] If the reader will consult the first letter Bernou wrote to his friend Renaudot from Rome, May 18, 1683, he may easily judge for himself whether Bernou was unfriendly to La Salle.[49] The abbé for reasons of his own was, at that time, and remained, at least until 1685, the staunchest supporter of La Salle. The sequence of events then adduced in the critical essay under discussion to "indicate that Father Membré is the author of the Official Report" is based on a number of suppositions for which there is no evidence whatever.

Then, and above all, there is a statement of La Salle himself in which he definitely refers to Father Membré as having reported the expedition in 1682, while he says nothing of a report prepared by himself. In his Memoir of 1684, "reporting to Monseigneur de Seignelay the discoveries made by him under the orders of His Majesty," which was written in the third person, he declared: "He [La Salle] believes that he has sufficiently established the truth of his discovery by the official instrument *(procès-verbal)* signed by all his companions, which was placed last year in the hands of Monseigneur

[46] M. de Villiers, *La Louisiane,* 19.
[47] Margry, III, 74.
[48] *Some La Salle Journeys,* 67, note 10.
[49] Bernou to Renaudot, May 18, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:10.

Colbert by the Count de Frontenac, as also by a report drawn up by the Reverend Father Zénoble, missionary, who accompanied him during his voyage, and who is at this time Guardian of Bapaume. . . . All these proofs are sufficient to contradict whatever may have been written to the contrary by persons who have no knowledge of the country, where the discovery was made, never, have been there" (Cox, *Journeys of La Salle,* I, 190). This statement, which we have no reason whatever to question, should remove all doubt as to Father Membré's authorship of the Official Report.

This paragraph concludes the examination of authenticity from extrinsic evidence. A few words only need be said, to show that it is not quite clear how this statement of La Salle proves that Membré wrote the official report. First, the document is attributed to La Salle, a statement which it would be difficult to prove, for it is a copy made by someone unknown. One could make use of the same argument adduced a few pages previously. One of the reasons given to show that the official report was not written by La Salle was because it is written in the third person, which is the natural form for a document written by someone else. The memoir of 1684 is also written in the third person. Secondly, this memoir was written to counteract the opinion, then current in Paris owing to the letters of La Barre, according to which La Salle's discovery was useless,[50] and not a few were sceptical about its reality.[51] Finally, even if there were no positive evidence that Father Membré did not write the report, it cannot be deduced from this text that he did write a report, still less that he wrote the official report. This is made clear from the French text of the passage:

Il [La Salle] croit avoir suffisamment establi la vérité de sa descouverte par l'acte authentique, signé de tous ses gens, qui fut mis l'an passé entre les mains de M^gr^ Colbert par M. le Comte de Frontenac, comme aussi par *le rapport qu'en a fait* le Révérend Père Zenoble, Recollect missionaire qui l'a accompagné dans ce voyage et qui présentement est gardien du couvent de Bapaume, par le tesmoignage de trois de ceux qui l'y ont suivy, qu'il a amenez en France et qui sont à Paris, et par le tesmoignage de plusieurs autres per-

[50] Cf. La Barre to Seignelay, November 12, 1682, AC, C 11A, 6:63; Margry, II, 302; November 14, 1682, Margry, II, 304.

[51] Tronson to Belmont, March 13, 1683, no. 191; printed in Margry, II, 305. One year later, in 1684, even people who were well disposed toward La Salle were still sceptical: "I have heard with great pleasure the narrative M. de la Salle made to us of his discovery; it is a beautiful journey which intelligent persons [in Paris] consider very important. If things are as he represents them, you will hear about it in a few months," Tronson to Dollier, April 4, 1684, no. 256.

sonnes venues cette année de Canada, qui ont veu le nommé Vital, envoyé par M. de La Barre pour en apprendre des nouvelles sur les lieux, qui a confirmé la descouverte.[52]

"Faire un rapport de quelque chose à quelqu'un" may mean to make a written report, but it may also mean to give an account by word of mouth. The context shows that the latter is the more correct meaning. Those who doubt the reality of the discovery of La Salle, we are here told, may have recourse to the notarial acts; they may call in some of the witnesses now in Paris, and also Father Membré who is now at Bapaume. When the latter came back from Canada at the beginning of 1683, he told of what had taken place.[53] But even if this interpretation were not accepted as a direct proof that Membré did not write a report, it will be perfectly clear from the textual criticism of the document that he did not write the official instrument under consideration. Its authenticity even when based on such arguments as those recited, remains just as inconclusive as it was for Parkman, Shea, and Winsor; these arguments do not dispose of Thomassy's, Gravier's and de Villiers' belief that it was written by La Salle.

Before examining the arguments from internal evidence adduced by Father Habig, there is a last one, from extrinsic evidence, which he did not use and which tends to prove that Father Membré did not write the official report. Bernou, as has been indicated elsewhere at length, was intensely interested in the geography of the Western hemisphere in general and in that of North America in particular.[54] Thus, in 1682, when the Venetian cartographer Coronelli was busy preparing his famous globe, he had been loaned maps drawn by the abbé. From Rome, whither he had gone as diplomatic agent for the Portuguese government, the latter wrote to his friend Eusèbe Renaudot in Paris to remind Coronelli to return some of his maps. He also asked Renaudot to warn the geographer of the inaccuracies of some of the Sanson maps, and added: "Father Zénobe and *my conclusion* of the relation of the discoveries of M. de La Salle will help him to draw the course of the Mississippi down to the sea."[55] Bernou evidently thought the missionary still in Paris, and hence Father

---

[52] Margry, III, 18-19.

[53] "J'ay entretenu le P. Recollect qui a esté avec M. de La Salle, et qui prétend estre descendu sur la rivière de Mississipy jusques dans le golfe de Mexique. Je ne sçais si l'on croira *tout ce qu'il dit*," Tronson to Belmont, March 13, 1683, no. 191; printed in Margry, II, 305. Italics inserted.

[54] *Some La Salle Journeys*, 11-12, 35-36, 70, etc.

[55] Bernou to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19v.

Membré could enlighten the cartographer. In 1682, Bernou had ended the *Relation des descouvertes* with these words: "The result [of La Salle's attempt to reach the sea] will be known at the close of the present year, 1682, as he had determined to complete his discovery last spring, at the latest, or to die in the attempt."[56] *"My conclusion* of the relation of the discoveries" is nothing else than the official report, which Bernou had drawn up before leaving for Rome.

The second time Bernou mentioned Father Membré in connection with the expedition of 1682, was on the occasion of a letter which Villermont had written deriding La Salle, and maintaining—rightly—that when the explorer returned to the river by way of the Gulf in 1684, he had not found the mouth of the Mississippi. The abbé in Rome answered Villermont that the critic hardly knew what he was talking about. To argue as he does: "He must not have seen the map of M. de la Salle, nor his relations, nor La Salle himself nor Father Zénobe," wrote Bernou to Renaudot.[57] It seems clear from these two passages that the abbé does not attribute any relation-writing to Father Membré; and if any report had been written other than the one they sponsored, Bernou and most certainly Renaudot would have known it.

After his examination of the external evidence and having concluded that Father Membré is the author of the official report, Father Habig wrote: "Corroborating this conclusion, the three accounts, namely, Father Membré's letter, his Relation in Le Clercq's work, and the Official Report, offer abundant evidence that they were composed by the same person—Father Membré." He then repeats what he has alluded to before, that the relation in Le Clercq—undoubtedly Membré's for Father Habig—is much longer, and that it contains a long description of the topography, of the fauna and flora of the Mississippi Valley, all of which suggests the dependence of the official report on the account in Le Clercq, rather than vice-versa.

A parallel table is given showing the concordance between the initial words of the paragraphs in the official report as found in Thomassy and in the Le Clercq narrative. In the comments that follow it is said: "The Official Report contains a few details not mentioned in the missionary's Relation, indicating that the person who adapted the latter to make the Official Report had taken part in the expedition and was, in fact, Father Membré

[56] Margry, I, 544.
[57] Bernou to Renaudot, August 28, 1685, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:250.

himself." This is said because of two unimportant details which are in the official report and not in the Le Clercq narrative. To insert them one need not have taken part in the expedition, for obviously they are merely stylistic, and were set down by Bernou for effect. One cannot fail to notice the similarity between the quotation above and what Parkman said about the relationship between the two accounts, although what Parkman said is quite different. He wrote that the details added in Le Clercq to the official report are "of a kind which seem to indicate that he [the writer of the narrative in Le Clercq] had taken part in the expedition."[58] This is correct, because these additions in Le Clercq are taken from a relation by a member of the expedition, but he was not Father Membré.

Finally a comparison is made between the English translation of the three narratives, Membré's letter, the account in Le Clercq, and the official report, with regard to the sojourn of La Salle in the first Arkansas village. Such comparison, it is alleged, points "clearly to identity of authorship." One is less impressed by the parallelism, when one realizes that this is the only long passage in the whole report taken by Bernou from Membré's letter. If the abbé had left this out, the data from Membré's letter which he embodied in his report would not amount to twenty per cent but to a bare five per cent of the entire document. Father Habig's discussion of the authorship closes with these words:

> This internal analysis of the three documents, however, merely supplies corroborating evidence that Father Membré is the author of them all; the external facts and arguments adduced above, are of themselves sufficient to establish Father Membré's authorship of the Letter, the Relation and the Official Report.

The above evidence, however, is not acceptable. Although Father Membré wrote the letter in question, and although some passages of it were embodied in the official report, he wrote neither the report itself nor the account found in Le Clercq. Before proving this assertion from internal evidence—the evidence, by the way, which is conclusive in the present case—a word or two must be said about the value of the extrinsic testimony adduced by Father Habig. It comes to this: La Salle is not the author, for he was too ill to write a report; Bernou is not the author, because it is supposed that he was unfriendly to La Salle at the time; and finally, a memoir which is presumed to have

[58] *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* 276, note 1.

been written by La Salle contains the statement that Father Membré "en a fait un rapport." These three arguments can hardly be described as convincing, and the comparison with Le Clercq is not very helpful. For, as was said above, if it can be shown that Membré did not write the official report which is reproduced almost verbatim in Le Clercq, it necessarily follows that he is not the author of the narrative in the *First Establishment of the Faith.* The relation in Le Clercq is simply the official report, interlarded with excerpts from later accounts of the expedition of 1682. The ascription to Membré prefaced to the relation in the *First Establishment* can hardly be taken as reliable, for the editor of Le Clercq did not hesitate to ascribe to Father Douay Jean Cavelier's own account of the survivors of La Salle's last expedition.[59] Shea has long ago called attention to the composite character of the *First Establishment;* all that needs to be done now is to ascertain whence the editor of Le Clercq got his materials.

The official report resolves itself into three parts: (1) Tonti's letter of July 23, 1683; (2) Membré's letter of June 3 of the same year; and (3) several paragraphs in neither of the above. Tonti's letter forms about sixty per cent of the report, and the other two about twenty per cent each.

The letter of Father Membré arrived in Quebec before that of Tonti, for the latter wrote from Michilimackinac on July 22, and on August 14, a summary of Membré's letter had already been made by a missionary at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The sender—Father Le Clercq, it is claimed[60]—and the addressee of the summary are irrelevant. The authenticity of Father Membré's letter is not questioned, and, in any case, it is also irrelevant to the point at issue. What is pertinent, however, is that Membré had nothing to do with at least eighty per cent of the report which he is said to have written. As was noted before, both Membré's and Tonti's letters are found among Bernou's papers, both copied in the same handwriting to form a single transcript of twelve pages. The letter of August 14, dated from St. Bonaventure Island which gives a summary of Membré's is also found in Bernou's papers immediately after the single transcript of the Tonti-Membré letters.

It might perhaps be said that Membré made use of his own letter, together with that of Tonti, weaving them both into the

---

[59] *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* Chicago, 1938, 15-18, 24.

[60] M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette,* 230, note 1; *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* XXVII, 1934, 306.

official report. This can hardly have been the case. Quite apart from the style which undoubtedly bears Bernou's trade-mark, the authorship of twenty per cent of the report would still have to be accounted for, and this part is so characteristic that no mistake can be made. Moreover, La Salle's friends in Paris did not entrust to any one else the writing of reports which were to be presented to the Court. They wrote them themselves, taking the materials wherever they found them, organizing data, expanding or abbreviating for greater effectiveness. They knew that they themselves were better writers than the explorers and missionaries in the field; they could make better use of data from overseas, so as to promote the interests of everybody concerned with greater chances of success. Bernou was a particularly skillful re-write man whose services were much in demand.[61]

After having separated the official report into its component parts, it only remains to ascertain the author of the factual data not found in either Tonti or Membré. If these data could be discovered and traced to their original source, and if they should be among the same papers wherein the transcripts of the letters of the pathfinder and of the missionary are found, it would become more than probable that the original writer of the data in question, is also the author of the report. In this manner the component parts of the report would be all accounted for. That Bernou was the owner of the transcripts is certain. We have yet to prove that he was the original writer of the data in question. It should be noted that the abbé was not very generous in communicating the geographical knowledge he had acquired, especially when, as in this case, it was linked with a long cherished plan of his.[62] He even withheld some of it from his good friend Renaudot,[63] his confederate in the "great design" he had in mind.

For all his shrewdness, Bernou had been hoodwinked by Peñalosa. Since 1678, the abbé had been composing memoir after memoir to prove to the French government how easily Quivira, Theguayo, Nueva Vizcaya, and the whole of New Spain could be conquered, if only "his plan" were put into execution. In one of these memoirs entitled "Project to attack the Spaniards in New Spain by way of New Biscay," he wrote that the Rio de Palmas was 30 leagues north of Pánuco, and that the Rio Bravo was located between the 27th and 28th parallels.[64]

---

[61] BN, Clairambault, 1016:194-207, 211-219, 295-335, 644-645, 653-654; Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:98, 113, 204v, 214v, etc.

[62] *Some La Salle Journeys,* 66 ff.

[63] Bernou to Renaudot, February 22, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:98.

[64] BN, Clairambault, 1016:209.

In the official report there is a paragraph giving information most of which is not found either in Tonti or in Membré. It begins with a sentence giving the length of the Mississippi from the Illinois river to the Gulf, 350 leagues, and the width of the river as one-fourth of a league. This is in Tonti's letter, with the difference that the pathfinder wrote that the Mississippi was as wide as the Loire. Another sentence at the beginning of the same paragraph merely rewords what is found in both Tonti's and Membré's letters, namely, the absence of falls or rapids. The rest of the paragraph informs us that the Rio de Palmas is between 30 and 40 leagues north of Panero (a misreading of Thomassy for Pánuco); that the Rio Bravo is 30 leagues north of Rio de Palmas; and that the Mississippi discovered by La Salle disembogues between the 27th and 28th parallels. In a memoir anterior to the "Project to attack the Spaniards," Bernou had located the mouth of the Rio Bravo on the 27th parallel.[65] When, however, he read in La Salle's letter that the explorer after having followed the Mississippi to its mouth, had found latitude 27°—Tonti merely says below latitude 29°—Bernou decided to allow for possible errors of calculation, and hence corrected once more the positions where the rivers emptied into the Gulf.

To realize that the two passages above mentioned say the same thing, we must remember that in those days the latitude given for the mouth of Rio Pánuco was inaccurate. On the maps seen by Bernou the mouth of the river was on the tropic of Cancer, that is, latitude 23° 27′.[66] The true latitude is 22° 15′. The distance from the mouth of the Pánuco to that of the Mississippi is given as between 90 and 100 leagues in the official report; and since the French counted 25 leagues to the degree, it follows that the Mississippi should be between the 27th and 28th parallel. Two years later Bernou was to write: "The Mississippi cannot be far from the Rio Bravo."[67] Here, in the official report, he pushed the Rio de Palmas up to the north some twenty minutes of arc, and pulled down the Rio Bravo half a degree to the south to make room for the Mississippi, which, according to him, disembogued in the vicinity of Corpus Christi, Texas. This spot, he wrote, is "where some maps locate the Rio de la Madalena, and others Rio Escondido."[68] Only a man fully abreast of the prog-

[65] *Ibid.*, 200.

[66] Cf. Sanson's map of Florida, 1657, of North America, 1667, 1669; Jaillot's map of North America, 1674, etc.

[67] Bernou to Renaudot, January 25, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:86v.

[68] The position of the various rivers emptying into the Gulf often changed; each cartographer seems to have used his own discretion. In one

ress of geographical knowledge in those days could write such a paragraph.[69] It is known that Bernou drew or traced numerous maps,[70] and that he had a wide acquaintance with Spanish, Portuguese and Italian literature in print at that time on the subject of world exploration.[71] On the other hand, there is no evidence that Membré's achievements in cartography and in linguistics are in any way comparable with those of the abbé.

In the same geographical paragraph there is another clue to the identity of its author. The sentence begins with a rewording of the information in Tonti's and Membré's letters. The Mississippi, it is said, is throughout very deep, without sand bars or anything which hinders navigation, *quoy qu'on eut en France publié le contraire.* The order of the sentences of this paragraph is somewhat changed in Le Clercq, and the French sentence just quoted reads: *quoy que l'on aye publié au contraire.*[72] When Shea first translated what passes for Membré's narrative in Le Clercq, he noted: "We do not know to what Father Membré refers. Marquette's work makes no such assertion of the Mississippi. Hennepin, indeed, says that an Illinois has so stated before La Salle went down."[73] In his complete translation of the *First Establishment,* Shea said nothing about the passage.[74] He had evidently taken the verb *publier* in too narrow a sense, as though it necessarily had to mean that what was objected to was in print. But it may quite simply mean "to utter, to give out," especially since Bernou is very probably referring to a controversy he had with Thévenot with regard to the course of the Mississippi.[75]

---

map which Bernou saw the two streams *Rio Escondido* and *Rio de la Madalena* are identical, see P. Du-Val, *Le Monde ou la Geographie Universelle,* 2 vols., Paris, 1663, reprinted in 1670, vol. I, the map "La Floride" inserted between pages 54 and 55. The stream empties into the Gulf at latitude 27°.

[69] Cf. Bernou to Renaudot, July 12, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:142; February 3, 1684, *ibid.,* 195v.

[70] Bernou to Renaudot, June 27, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:19; January 25, 1684, *ibid.,* 87; April 18, 1684, *ibid.,* 119; BN, Clairambault, 1017:133-143.

[71] Cf. his letters in Margry, III, 75, 84; in BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:114v, 250v.

[72] C. Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,* 2 vols., Paris, 1691, II, 239.

[73] J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* Redfield, 1852, 175, note.

[74] *First Establishment of the Faith,* II, 179.

[75] Cf. the letter of Delisle to Cassini, in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au Nord,* Amsterdam, 1732, IV, 563; there are only a few verbal changes between this passage of the printed letter and the manuscript draft in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, 115-10:n. 17, *pièce* B. See also, Bernou to Renaudot, February 22, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:99v; and February 29, 1684, Margry, III, 74.

Another insertion not found in either Tonti's or Membré's letter, points to Bernou as the compiler of the official report—namely, the location of the Ohio River. "The Ohio River which has its headwaters in the Iroquois country discharges itself into the Mississippi opposite this village" (the first Arkansas village where La Salle stopped several days). At first, it is rather startling to read of such vagaries of the Ohio River, which is here described as emptying itself some three degrees below its actual mouth, if the distance be measured in a straight line, and nearly double this distance, four hundred miles, if we follow the meandering course of the Mississippi. At this date Tonti had not yet identified the *Ouabache* with the Ohio, and there is no evidence that Membré ever did. The vagaries of the Ohio do not appear in Le Clercq's account; and on the map published with the *First Establishment,* the river is marked as a tributary of the *Ouabache.* This came from a better knowledge of the waterways of the Mississippi Valley when Le Clercq's book was compiled. But in the first months of 1683, Bernou was frankly puzzled by what he had read in the letters of La Salle of the hydrography of the Mississippi Basin.[76] To enter into details at this place would unduly lengthen this article. Two remarks, however, may be made. First, Bernou seems to have thought that there were two Ohio rivers;[77] and secondly, the description of the course of the Ohio as found in the official report is a further indication that La Salle did not discover this river either in 1669 or later. The text upon which this alleged discovery is based has also Bernou for its author.

The controversy between Thévenot and Bernou was mentioned above, Coronelli sided with his friend the abbé in this controversy.[78] Most of the items which the Venetian cartographer incorporated into his map of 1688—and into the later maps, merely variations of the first—on which he was already at work in 1683, was derived from information contained in the official report. This information, found in neither Tonti nor Membré, is Bernou's own conception, or rather misconception of the Mississippi Valley partly based on some letters of La Salle.

Between 1683 and 1688, when his maps were engraved and published, Coronelli had received in the meantime other accounts

---

[76] Margry, II, 80, 98, 141, 243.

[77] Bernou to Renaudot, February 1, 1684, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:89.

[78] Cf. letter of Delisle to Cassini, *supra,* note 75. A legend on Coronelli's map of North America, western section, *Atlante Veneto,* Venice, 1690, reads: "il F. Mechissipi conserva sempre la med. larghezza da questo segno* [latitude 39°] in' al mare, ch'e navigable senza rapidita."

of the 1682 journey to the Gulf, and incorporated the information into his first map. For instance he had access to the relation of the younger La Salle. This narrative is the only one which mentions the *Rivière aux Risques,*[79] and the geographer drew it on his map. The text of Coronelli also shows that he had the official report. Twice he speaks of the Mississippi. The first time he merely mentions the general course of the river.[80] From the mouth of the Illinois he passes immediately to the ceremony which took place near the mouth of the Mississippi, April 7, 1682; but the second time, he gives a full description of the river and of its tributaries. Below Fort Prudhomme: "Gli altri Fiumi fin' à quest' hora conosciuti, che tributano le loro acque al Colbert sono; il Chepoutia, e l'Ohio, ò Belle Riviere, tra' quali è una grand' Isola dove il Sig. della Salle fabbricò un forte li 14 Marzo 1682."[81] The *Chepoutia* river is not shown on the map, but the Ohio, as a stream distinct from, and with a course parallel to the Ouabache three degrees to the south, empties into the Mississippi opposite the Arkansas village where La Salle stopped.[82] Since we know how closely Bernou and Coronelli worked together, this point serves to indicate, without further elaboration who supplied this information to the geographer and consequently who compiled the official report.

A parenthesis is not out of place at this stage of the argumentation. The authorship of certain paragraphs of the official report which contain information not to be found in either Tonti or Membré has been ascertained from what is known of the activities of Bernou, as evidenced by his letters to Renaudot and by the numerous memoirs he has left. On a former occasion when the present writer made use of a similar method some critics described the procedure as involved and more or less useless. To what extent the adjective "useless" is justified depends on one's concept of history. Are we to say that one must never mistrust traditional ascriptions? that one must accept uncritically, as if afraid to lose a single one, all pieces of informa-

---

[79] Margry, I, 560.

[80] *Atlante Veneto,* 29.

[81] *Ibid.,* 132.

[82] "America Settentrionale Colle Nuove Scoperte fin all'anno 1688," in *Atlante Veneto,* 56-57. In the "Recueil des Inscriptions des remarques historiques et géographiques qui sont sur le Globe Terrestre de Marly," BN, Mss. fr. 13365:75, the globe which was constructed by Coronelli, the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio is given as follows: "La Riviere Ohio, ou la Belle Riviere, ainsy appelee pour sa beauté, par laquelle les Européens n'ont pas encore descendu qu'a l'embouchure a 31 degrez 26 minutes dans la Riviere Mississipi. . . ." The latitude of the mouth of the Ohio on the map in the *Atlante Veneto* is about 31° 30′.

tion, ancient or modern, good or bad, from whatever quarter they may come? Do documents, like wine, improve with age? Do they become more authentic, more trustworthy because some littérateur, some popularizer, some historian or other who did not bother to criticize his sources have accepted them? Does such acceptance confer on documents, manuscript or printed, an authority which they lack of themselves? The answer has been given long since:

> The critical investigation of authorship saves historians from huge blunders. Its results are striking. By eliminating spurious documents, by detecting false ascriptions, by determining the conditions of production of documents which have been defaced by time, and by connecting them with their sources, it has rendered services of such magnitude that today it is regarded as having a special to the name of "criticism."[83]

That such a procedure is "involved" should not surprise any one, considering that those who concocted some of these 'original' documents had every interest in covering up their tracks. What is surprising, however, is that this "involved" procedure should appear objectionable; except, of course, to dilettanti who pass judgment on matters outside their sphere.

The last lines of the report are also the contribution of the compiler. La Salle's forty-day illness,[84] and the amount of his indebtedness (nearly 200,000 livres), are mentioned in the letter which he wrote from Michilimackinac in October 1682.[85] This autograph letter, as well as a copy of the same, is found among Bernou's papers, and it may be considered as almost certain that the letter was addressed to him. Membré, of course, might have told Bernou how long La Salle's illness lasted; he might even have mentioned the amount of money which La Salle owed to his creditors, though this is rather unlikely, since La Salle confided his affairs to very few, and mostly to those alone whom he thought could effectively help him. In the last lines of the report is also found a comparison between La Salle and the Spanish *conquistadores,* to the manifest advantage of the former. This

---

[83] C. V. Langlois and C. Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History,* New York, 1898, 98.

[84] La Salle to ——, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:148; Margry, II, 288.

[85] La Salle to ——, [October 1682], BN, Clairambault, 1016:150v; Margry, II, 301. The text in the manuscript has: "J'envoyerai l'année prochaine un estat justifié des despenses que j'ay faites pour cela qui se montent avec mes pertes a pres [Margry has "plus"] de deux cents mil livres avec les cartes et memoires que vous pouvez souhaiter *si je ne les porte moy mesme.*" Margry left out the words in italics.

is quite typical of Bernou, who more than once indulged in such hyperboles.[86]

Thus there seems little room for doubt about the identity of the compiler of the official report. The materials for more than half of it are found exclusively in a letter of Tonti; one-fifth of it is obviously taken from a letter of Membré; copies of both these letters are found among the papers of Bernou who is clearly and solely the author of another fifth of the document. Naturally enough the abbé left his mark on the compilation; he changed words and recast sentences so as to make it read more smoothly; he blended into a continuous narrative the elements which he found in the separate letters of Tonti, Membré, and La Salle; he omitted few facts, few dates, few distances, few important peculiarities, given either by Tonti or by Membré. It is interesting to note that he found three times more to his purpose in the narration of the soldier than in that of the missionary.

The accuracy of the geographical details which are mentioned in the report about the Mississippi and its tributaries is not being discussed here, since these details are to be treated at length in a forthcoming work on the cartography of the Mississippi. As was suggested before in this article, the strangeness of some of the geographical details is what made it necessary to examine the evidence here presented by way of settling the authorship of the report.

The main conclusions which follow from the present identification need not be elaborated here. An important one has already been pointed out: the narrative in Le Clercq, an almost verbatim reproduction of the official report, can no longer be regarded as the work of Membré, in spite of the statement in Le Clercq to that effect. It is apparent that a critical study of the two volumes of the *First Establishment* is needed. The book should not be quoted as authoritative until the real author of the statements found therein has been identified in each case. The editor ascribed to Douay an account which is Jean Cavelier's, and to Membré Bernou's compilation. After two such false ascriptions, more than a mere assertion on his part is needed to carry conviction. Statements which cannot be traced to their authors must be credited to the unknown editor of the *First Establishment,* who can hardly be relied upon for trustworthiness. He ended chapter XX with an hexameter: "Postera vix credet, praesens mirabitur aetas." Seeing how little credence may be

[86] Cf. Margry, II, 442, 610; BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:87, 94, 114, etc.

given to his account, one can hardly avoid noting the unintended and sinister significance of the words: "Postera vix credet . . . aetas."

Of special interest, moreover, is the bearing which this identification has upon a moot question. So long as the authorship of the official report remained doubtful, or was attributed to Membré, only indirect arguments could be adduced to refute the tale found in Hennepin's *Nouvelle Decouverte* and repeated in the *Nouveau Voyage.*[87] Hennepin's story is as follows: In 1681, when he arrived at Quebec from the West, he gave to Father Leroux, his "journal" of the descent to the mouth of the Mississippi, and Leroux had time to copy it before Hennepin's departure for France. Leroux gave this copy to Le Clercq, who embodied it in the *First Establishment of the Faith* as Membré's narrative of La Salle's expedition. Since the "journal" is not that of Membré —only a small part of his letter was incorporated in the report— and since it was compiled in France in 1683, after Hennepin had left Paris,[88] his accusations of plagiarism appear, to say the least, somewhat misdirected.

Even if Hennepin had still been in Paris when the official report was compiled, Bernou would certainly not have shown it to him. The only autograph letter of the missionary that has come to light thus far in the French Archives, makes clear how strained were the relations between the abbé and the missionary at the time the official report was compiled,[89] and their relations did not improve subsequently.[90] Furthermore, if Hennepin had gone down to the mouth of the Mississippi and had seen the "journal" or the report, would he not have been perturbed at the discrepancy in these documents regarding the position of the mouth of the Ohio? Another peculiarity may also be noted which conclusively disposes of the "journal-given-to-Leroux" theory.[91] It can safely be asserted that Hennepin did not see Tonti's letter. Neither did he see such passages of this letter as

---

[87] *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand Pays, situé dans l'Amerique, entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale,* Utrecht, 1697, 503-505; *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe Avec les reflections des entreprises du Sieur de la Salle, sur les Mines de Ste Barbe, &c.,* Utrecht, 1698, preface.

[88] Cf. H. Lemay, "Le Père Louis Hennepin, récollet, à Paris, 1682," in *Nos Cahiers,* III, 1938, 140.

[89] Hennepin to Renaudot, BN, Clairambault, 286:244-244v; printed in Margry, III, 305; in Lemay, *Bibliographie du Père Louis Hennepin, récollet, Les Pièces documentaires,* Montreal, 1937, 37.

[90] Bernou to Renaudot, May 18, 1683, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7497:10; February 1, 1684, *ibid.,* 89.

[91] "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, 1680," in MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 37-38.

are reproduced word for word in the official report, since he had no access to the report itself. From the report, these passages were taken over into the *First Establishment,* and thence into the *New Discovery* as a transcription of Hennepin's own journal! It is not easy to believe that Hennepin and Tonti, in describing the journey to the Gulf at two years' interval, would use exactly the same words.[92]

It is difficult to show graphically just how Tonti's account formed the basis of the Official Relation compiled by Bernou. To do this it was deemed best to present the Official Relation in different types, unpleasing though it may be to the eye, and then to give four charts as graphic illustrations of the four accounts of the trip. In the following document, the Official Relation, what is Tonti's is set up **in this type;** what is in Membré's letter is *in this type;* specific details in both sources are **IN THIS TYPE;** and the connecting sentences and what is Bernou's are in this type. Variants are given in the notes. These serve to illustrate the craftsmanship of the re-write man.

---

[92] I. Tonti's letter: "Le village de Taensa est scitué sur un petit lac formé dans les terres par le fleuve." Official Report: "Les Taensa habitent autour d'un petit lac formé dans les terres par le fleuve Mississipi." Le Clercq: "Les Taensa qui habitent autour d'un petit Lac formé dans les terres par le Fleuve Mississipi." *Nouvelle Decouverte:* "Ces Sauvages [Taensas] demeurent prés d'un petit Lac, que le Fleuve Meschasipi forme dans les terres."—II. Tonti's letter: "Ils [Taensa] . . . sont vestus de couvertes blanches qu'ils font d'escorce d'Arbres fruitiers." Official Report: "Ils sont vestus de couvertures blanches faites d'une ecorce d'arbre qu'ils filent." Le Clercq: "Ils sont vétus de couvertes blanches faites d'une ecorce d'arbre qu'ils filent." *Nouvelle Decouverte:* "Il [Taensa chief] etoit couvert d'une Robbe ou couverture blanche faite d'une ecorce d'Arbre qu'ils filent en ce pays-là."

Relation De La Decouverte

DE L'EMBOUCHURE DE LA RIVIÈRE MISSISSIPI DANS LE GOLFE DE MEXIQUE, FAITE PAR LE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, L'ANNÉE PASSÉE 1682

Le sieur de la Salle s'embarqua sur le lac Taronto qui se décharge dans le lac des Hurons, à la fin du mois d'aoust de l'année 1681, et il arriva vers la commencement de novembre à la rivière de Miamis, au fond du lac des Ilinois, du costé du sud.[1] Il travailla d'abord, après son arrivée, à préparer toutes les choses nécessaires pour achever sa découverte. Il choisit **23 François et 18 Nahingans**[2] **et Abenaquis,** sauvages qui avoient quitté leur pays voisin de la Nouvelle Angleterre, et s'estoient mis sous sa protection. Ils voulurent mener avec eux **dix de leurs femmes,** pour leur aprester à manger selon leur coustume pendant qu'ils seroient à la chasse ou à la pesche, **et** ces femmes conduisirent avec elles **trois enfans.** Ainsy toute la troupe fut composée de 54 personnes, entre lesquelles étoient le sieur De Tonty, le père Zénobe, recollet, et le sieur Dautray, fils du procureur général de Québec.

Le 21 décembre, le sieur de la Salle fit embarquer **Le sieur De Tonty**[3] *avec une partie de ses gens* **sur le lac des Ilinois,** pour aller vers **la rivière** Divine appelée par les sauvages **CHÉCAGOU,** afin d'y préparer des canots et les autres choses nécessaires pour son voyage. **Le S^r^ De la Salle l'y joignit** *avec le reste de la troupe* **le 4 de janvier 1682,** et trouva que **le sieur De Tonty. LA RIVIÈRE CHECAGOU ESTANT GLACÉE, avoit fait faire des traisneaux** pour y mettre tout leur équipage.

Ils partirent de cet endroit **le 27^e^ du mesme mois, et trainèrent** *leur bagage*[4] et leurs *provisions* **environ 80 lieues.** *Ils passèrent par le grand village des Ilinois où ils ne trouvèrent personne,* les sauvages *estant allés hiverner ailleurs. Trente lieues plus bas et au bout d'un élargissement de la rivière nommé le lac de Pimedy,* où estoit scitué le **fort de Crèvecoeur, ILS TROUVÈRENT LES GLACES fondues.**[5] Ainsy **ils** s'embarquèrent dans leurs canots et **arrivèrent le 6 février**[6] à l'embouchure de la rivière des Ilinois, scituée au 38^e^ degré de latitude.

Les glaces qui dérivoient sur la rivière Mississipi *les arrêtèrent* en cet endroit *jusqu'au*[7] **13^e^ du mesme mois.** *Ils en partirent* le mesme jour, **et trouvèrent à six lieues** plus bas, **sur la main droite, une grande rivière qui vient de l'ouest, appelée la rivière de Missoury. Le 14^e^, à six lieues**

---

[1] This was known from two letters of La Salle written in the summer of 1681, BN, Clairambault, 1016:53-64, 170-187; Margry, II, 115-159, 212-262.

[2] A misprint in Thomassy; Tonti has Mahingans; Thomassy himself has Mahingans later in the report. The Renaudot copy has Mahingans.

[3] When the official report has "le Sieur de Tonty" as here, Tonti's letter has the singular of the first personal pronoun. This passage reads: "Je partis le 21 decembre." Membré has more often "nous." The purpose of the report required that Bernou should make these changes.

[4] "Equipage" instead of "bagage" in Membré.

[5] Both have "ayant trouvé la navigation libre."

[6] "Au fleuve Colbert autrement Mississipi," Tonti: "au fleuve Mississipi," Membré.

[7] Membré has: "Nous en partismes le . . ."

de là, ils virent à la main gauche le village de Tamaroa, où ils ne rencontrèrent personne parce qu'ils étoient tous allez à la chasse vers la rivière Ouabache, à 46 lieues de là.[8] *Le sieur de la Salle laissa dans ce village, ainsi qu'il en avoit laissé dans celui des Ilinois des marques de sa venue en paix et des signes de sa route qu'il continua durant plus de 100 lieues sans rencontrer aucun homme.*[9]

Il alloit à petites journées, parce que n'ayant pu porter d'autres provisions que de bled d'Inde, *il estoit obligé de* faire *chasser*[10] presque tous les jours. Il fit néantmoins 42 lieues sans s'arrester, à cause que les rivages estoient bas et marécageux et pleins de cannes fort épaisses.[11]

Le 24 febvrier, ceux qu'il avoit envoyés à la chasse revinrent tous, à la réserve d'un de ses gens nommé Pierre Preudhomme; et les autres ayant rapporté qu'ils avoient veu des pistes d'hommes, on craignit qu'il n'eust été pris ou tué par les sauvages. Aussytost le sieur De la Salle fit faire un fort et ordonna à des François et à des sauvages de suivre les pistes qu'on avoit veües.[12]

Le 1er du mois de mars, Gabriel minime et deux des sauvages[13] du sieur de la Salle découvrirent cinq sauvages dont ils en prirent DEUX, et les amènerent au fort *où le sieur De la Salle leur fit beaucoup de carresses. Il apprit qu'*ILS ESTOIENT *d'une nation appelée* SICACHA,[14] et que leur village n'estoit éloigné que d'une journée et demie. Ainsy il partit avec la moitié de ses gens pour y aller, dans l'espérance d'apprendre des nouvelles de Preudhomme. Mais apres avoir marché duront un jour et demy, il reconnut qu'ils estoient encore bien éloignés du village et que ces deux sauvages l'avoient trompé. Il leur en fit des plaintes[15] et ils luy avouèrent qu'il y avoit encore trois journées, offrant toutefois que l'un d'eux demeureroit avec luy pendant que l'autre iroit au village dont les chefs se rendroient incessament au bord du fleuve.[16] Le sieur de la Salle accepta leurs offres, et en ayant renvoyé un avec quelques présens de marchandises, il ramena l'autre à son fort. Mais Preudhomme qui s'estoit égaré à la chasse fut retrouvé le mesme jour. Ainsy le Sr De la Salle renvoya aussy l'autre sauvage avec des présens.

Le 3e il continua sa route,[17] *et le 13e*[18] après avoir navigué 45 lieues, ILS

---

[8] This is taken almost word for word from Tonti. Membré simply wrote: "et vinsmes le lendemain dans un village abandonné comme celuy des Ilinois."

[9] "Sans voir personne," Membré.

[10] "Pour vivre," Membré.

[11] "Ensuitte ayant trouvé 42 lieues de pays de cannes et noyé, nous chassames," Tonti.

[12] Membré merely states: "Un des nostres s'estant égaré dans les bois à la chasse on demeura huit jours a le chercher."

[13] Tonti specifies: "Loups," that is, Mohicans.

[14] The spelling of the word "Sicacha" is as in Tonti.

[15] "Il temoigna estre fasché de ce quils mentoient," Tonti. The Renaudot copy has "reproches."

[16] This passage is almost a verbatim transcription of Tonti's letter, Bernou rearranged a few sentences.

[17] Prudhomme was found "le deux" March, according to Tonti; the ninth day, according to Membré; both say that the party left the day after Prudhomme was found, hence March 3.

[18] "Nous nous trouvasmes vis-à-vis d'un grand village des Akansas," Membré.

ENTENDIRENT battre le tambour et faire **DES CRIS DE GUERRE,**[19] ce qui leur fit juger qu'ils avoient esté decouverts par quelques sauvages, dont en effet **ils virent** aussytost **le village à la droite** de la rivière.

Le sieur De la Salle *fit d'abord passer ses canots* **A L'AUTRE BORD,** *où, en une heure, il* **FIT CONSTRUIRE UN FORT** de pieux et d'arbres abattus sur une pointe de terre afin d'éviter d'estre surpris, et pour donner aux sauvages le temps de se rassurer. *Il fit ensuite avancer quelques uns de ses gens sur le bord de la rivière* **QUI APPELÈRENT LES SAUVAGES.**[20] *Leurs chefs envoyèrent une pirogue qui s'avança à la portée du fusil.* **ON LEUR PRÉSENTA LE CALUMET** *de paix, et deux sauvages* s'estant avancés et *invitant* par leurs gestes les François *d'aller à eux,* **LE SIEUR DE LA SALLE Y ENVOYA un François et DEUX de ses sauvages**[21] qui furent receus et régalés avec beaucoup de marques d'amitié. *Six des principaux les ramenèrent dans la mesme pirogue, et entrèrent dans le fort* où **le sieur de la Salle LEUR FIT DES PRÉSENS** *de tabac* et de quelques marchandises. **Ils lui firent** à leur tour **présent de quelques esclaves,** *et ensuite le plus considérable d'entre eux le convia d'aller à leur village pour s'y rafraischir avec tous ses gens; à quoy le sieur de la Salle consentit. Tous ceux du village, à la réserve des femmes qui avoient d'abord pris la fuite, vinrent au bord de la rivière pour le recevoir.*[22] Ils voulurent ensuite enmener ses gens en diverses cabanes pour les mieux régaler; mais le sieur de la Salle ne jugeant pas à propos de les laisser escarter, témoigna que ses gens ne se séparoient pas volontiers les uns des autres. *Les sauvages consentirent facilement à les laisser ensemble* et *bastirent les cabanes* qui leur estoient nécessaires, *leur portèrent du bois à brusler,* leur fournirent des vivres en abondance et *leur firent des festins continuels durant trois jours que le sieur de la Salle y demeura.*

Les femmes estant venues leur apportèrent du bled d'Inde, des fèves, de la farine et des fruits de diverses sortes, *et on leur fit en récompense de petits présens qu'elles admirèrent.*

Ces sauvages ne ressemblent pas à ceux du Nord, qui sont tous d'une humeur triste et sévère. Ceux-ci sont beaucoup mieux faits: *honestes, libéraux et d'une humeur gaye. La jeunesse mesme est si modeste,* que, quoiqu'ils eussent une forte envie de voir M. De la Salle, *ils se tenoient néantmoins à la porte, sans bruit et sans oser y entrer.* **On y vit un grand nombre de poules,** beaucoup de sortes de fruits **et des pesches déjà formées sur les arbres** quoi qu'on fust au commencement de mars.

La rivière Ohio, qui a sa source dans le pays des Iroquois, se décharge dans le fleuve Mississipi, vis-à-vis de ce village.

Le 14 du mesme mois, le sieur de la Salle prit possession de ce pays *avec* beaucoup de *cérémonies, faisant planter une croix et* **Y ARBORANT LES ARMES DU ROY.**[23] *Les sauvages en témoignèrent une joye extraordinaire, et le sieur De la Salle, à son retour de la mer, trouva qu'ils*

---

[19] Tonti gives 44 leagues; instead of "cris de guerre," he has "Sasacouest."

[20] "Par le cri de Nicana," Membré.

[21] Here again Tonti specifies, "Loups." Membré: "deux des nostres."

[22] Membré's text was only slightly changed, the rest of this paragraph and the next one were recast by Bernou.

[23] "De sa M. T. Chrétienne," Tonti.

avoient entouré cette croix d'une palissade.[24] **ILS LUI DONNÈRENT** ensuite des provisions, et quelques **HOMMES POUR LE CONDUIRE**[25] *et luy servir d'interprètes* **chez les Taensa, leurs alliés, qui sont éloignés de 80 lieues de ce village.**

Le 17, le sieur de la Salle continua sa route; et, **à six lieues de là, il vit un autre village des Akansa, et un troisième, trois lieues plus bas,**[26] *où il fut aussy fort bien receu; mais il ne s'y arresta pas, et il en partit après y avoir fait des présens.*

Le 22, IL ARRIVA CHEZ LES TAENSA,[27] **qui habitent autour d'un petit lac formé dans les terres par le fleuve Mississipi. Ils ont huit villages;** les murailles de leurs maisons[28] **sont faites de terres meslées de paille, le toit est de cannes qui forment un dome orné de peinture.** Ils ont **des lits de bois**[29] et beaucoup d'autres meubles, et d'embellissements. **ILS ONT DES TEMPLES** *où ils enterrent les os de leurs capitaines;* et ils **sont vestus de couvertures blanches faites d'une écorce d'arbre** qu'ils filent. **Leur chef est absolu** et dispose de tout sans consulter persone. **Il est servi par des esclaves, ainsy que tous ceux de sa famille.** *On luy appreste à manger hors de sa cabane, et on luy sert à boire dans une tasse particulière avec beaucoup de propreté.*[30] *Ses femmes et ses enfans sont traittez de mesme,* **et tous les autres Taensa luy parlent avec respect et avec de grandes cérémonies.**[31]

Le sieur de la Salle, estant fatigué et **ne pouvant aller**[32] luy mesme chez les Taensa, **y avoit envoyé le sieur De Tonty** avec des présens. *Le chef de cette nation ne se contenta pas d'envoyer quantité de vivres au sieur de la Salle* et de lui faire des presens, il voulut aussy lui rendre visite. *Un maistre de cérémonies vint deux heures auparavant, suivi de six hommes à qui il fit nettoyer le chemin par où il devoit passer. Il luy fit préparer une place et la fit couvrir d'une natte de cannes très délicatement travaillée. Ce chef arriva ensuitte vestu d'une très-belle nappe ou couverture blanche; deux hommes le précédoient, portant des éventails de plumes blanches; un troisième portoit une lame de cuivre une plague ronde de mesme matière,* toutes deux très polies. *Il conserva une gravité extraordinaire dans cette visite, qui fut néantmoins pleine de confiance et de marques d'amitié*[33]

Tout ce pays est garny palmiers, de LAURIERS de deux sortes,[34] **de pruniers, de peschers,** *de meuriez,* de noyers de cinq ou six sortes, dont

---

[24] One detail given by Membré was omitted by Bernou; the Indians were so glad that "ils se frottoient le corps après l'avoir frotté à la colonne."

[25] "Ils nous donnerent *des* guides," Tonti.—"Les Akansas nous avoient donné *deux* hommes pour nous servir de guides," Membré."

[26] Bernou misread this text of Tonti "Aprés avoir entré dans deux autres villages des Akansas distant de 6. et trois lieues du 1er."

[27] Membré says that it took the party five days to travel from the Arkansas to the Taensa. The text of the missionary's letter in Margry has that they left the Arkansas village, March 17; this date is an addition by Margry, the manuscript gives no date.

[28] "Les cabanes," Tonti.

[29] "Des lits de camp manière de menuiserie," Tonti.

[30] Paraphrase of Membré's letter.

[31] Paraphrase of Tonti's letter.

[32] "N'y vouloit pas aller," wrote Tonti.

[33] This is the last long excerpt from Membré's letter. Bernou changed the text slightly and shortened it a little. After "plumes blanches" he omitted the following words: "comme pour chasser les mauvais esprits."

[34] "Palmiers, lauriers françois, et Espagnols . . . Capeliers," Tonti.

quelques-uns portent des noix d'une grosseur extraordinaire, et de beaucoup d'autres sortes d'arbres fruitiers dont la saison trop peu avancée empescha de reconnoistra les fruits.

Les guides ne voulurent pas aller plus loin, craignant de rencontrer leurs ennemis, parce que les peuples qui habitent un des rivages de cette rivière sont ennemis de tous ceux de l'autre: il y a 34 villages du costé droit et 40 du costé gauche.

Le 26e de mars, le sieur De la Salle continua sa navigation; on découvrit a douze lieues de là un pirogue,[35] auquel le sieur De Tonti donna chasse jusqu'à ce que, approchant du rivage, on vit un grand nombre de sauvages. Aussytost le sieur de la Salle, suivant sa précaution ordinaire, gagna le rivage opposé d'où il leur envoya le calumet de paix par le mesme sieur De Tonti.

Quelques-uns de ces sauvages traversèrent la rivière, et on apprit d'eux qu'ils estoient de la nation des Nachié, ennemis des Taensa;[36] toutefois, le sieur De la Salle alla dans leur village, éloigné de trois lieues de la rivière, et y coucha; il y fut visité par le chef des Koroa, que les Nachié, leurs alliez, avoit fait avertir pendant la nuit.

Le lendemain, le sieur De la Salle, après avoir fait des présens aux Nachié, revint dans son camp avec le chef des Koroa[37] qui l'accompagna jusque dans son village, scitué dix lieues plus bas, sur un costeau entouré de belles prairies. Ce chef fit présent au sieur de la Salle d'un calumet, le régala avec tous ses gens, et lui dit qu'il y avoit encore dix journées jusqu'à la mer. On partit de ce village le 29e de mars.[38] Un peu au dessous, la rivière estant divisée en deux par une isle de 40 lieues de longueur, ils prirent un bras pour l'autre, ce qui les empescha de voir dix autres nations.[39]

Le 2e d'avril, après avoir navigé 40 lieues,[40] ils virent des pescheurs de la nation appelée Quinipisa, qui prirent la fuite, et aussytost après on entendit des cris de guerre[41] et battre le tambour. Quatre François allèrent leur présenter le calumet avec ordre de ne point tirer, mais ces sauvages leur décochèrent des flèches. Quatre Mahingans y allèrent après, qui eurent un pareil succès. Ainsy le sieur de la Salle, voyant ces sauvages si peu sociables, continua sa route.[42] DEUX LIEUES PLUS BAS, ils entrèrent dans un village appelé Tangibao, où ils trouvèrent *trois cabanes pleines* D'HOM-

---

[35] "Canots de bois," Tonti.

[36] Membré does not mention the Natchez; he passes from the Taensa to the Koroa.

[37] Membré merely mentions the arrival; the Koroa "qui demeurent sur les montagnes," are one day's journey from the Taensa.

[38] "Jour de Pasques," wrote Tonti, and he repeated it farther down. Peculiarly enough, neither Membré nor Bernou say anything about this feast, but the editor of Le Clercq amply compensates for their silence; the Renaudot copy has "jour de Pasques."

[39] "Nous manquames dix autres nations ayant pris un chenal pour un autre d'une Isle qui a environ 40 lieues de long," Tonti.

[40] Membré speaks of the Huma, located one day's journey from the Koroa, "nous en passasmes le village sans les apercevoir." This is the only important fact which is in Membré's letter and which was omitted by Bernou. It should be noted that the Huma are not mentioned in Le Clercq either.

[41] "Sasacouest," as before.

[42] In Membré, there is a bare mention of the reception of the party by these Indians, as well as a few lines about the attack when they returned from the sea.

MES MORTS,[43] **qui paroissoient avoir esté tuez il y avoit environ vingt jours,** et *le* reste du *village bruslé et saccagé* **Ils navigèrent** ensuite encore **40 lieues, au bout desquelles, le 6e d'avril, il virent que la rivière se divisoit en trois branches. Le** lendemain, **7e, le sieur De la Salle alla reconnoistre le chenal qui estoit à la droite. Il envoya le sieur De Tonty visiter celuy du milieu, et le sieur Dautray celuy qui estoit à la gauche. Ils estoient** tous trois **fort beaux et fort profonds. Au bout de deux lieues,** ils **trouvèrent l'eau salée,** et peu de temps après **la pleine mer,**[44] où ils s'avancèrent un peu pour la mieux reconnoistre. **Ils remontèrent** par les mesmes canaux, et se rassemblèrent tous avec une joye extrême d'avoir heureusement achevé un si grande entreprise.

Le 9e d'avril, le sieur de la Salle fit PLANTER UNE CROIX ET ARBORER LES ARMES[45] **de France, et après qu'on eut chanté l'hymne Vexilla et le Te Deum, il prit au nom du Roy, possession de ce fleuve, de toutes les rivières qui y entrent** et de tous les pais qu'elles arrosent.[46] **Il en fit faire un acte authentique signé de tous ses gens,** et, ayant fait **faire une décharge de fusils,** il **fit mettre en terre une plaque de plomb où les armes de France**[47] **et les noms de ceux qui venoient de faire la découverte estoient gravez.**

Il a suivi durant 350 lieues la rivière Mississipi qui conserve jusqu'à la mer sa largeur de près d'un quart de lieue. Elle est fort profonde partout, **SANS AUCUN BANC NY RIEN QUI EMPESCHE LA NAVIGATION,**[48] quoy qu'on eut en France publié le contraire. Elle tombe dans le golfe du Mexique au delà de la baye du Saint-Esprit, entre le 27e et le 28e degré de latitude, et à l'endroit où quelques cartes marquent le Rio de la Madalena, et d'autres Rio Escondido: elle est éloignée d'environ trente lieues de Rio Bravo, de 60 de Rio de Palmas, et de 90 à 100 lieues de Rio Panero, où est la plus prochaine habitation des Espagnols sur la coste. Le sieur de la Salle, qui porte toujours dans ses voyages un astrolabe, a pris la hauteur précise de cette embouchure.

Le 10e d'avril, le sieur de la Salle commença à remonter la rivière, **et il arriva le 12 au village détruit appellé Tangibao; les vivres luy ayant manqué** depuis quelques jours, il résolut de tascher d'en obtenir des sauvages voisins.[49] **Ceux** qu'il envoya à la descouverte **luy amenèrent quatre femmes** de la nation des Quinipisa, qui avoient tiré des flèches sur ses gens. **Il alla camper vis-à-vis de leur village,** et, une pirogue ayant paru,[50] **il présenta luy-mesme le calumet** de paix **aux sauvages qui se retirèrent** sans le recevoir. Alors **il mit une de ces femmes à terre avec un présent de haches,**

---

[43] "Des cadavres," Tonti.

[44] Membré merely states: "Nous arrivasmes le 7 Avril, fort heureusement a la mer."

[45] "Après avoir planté la croix de Nostre Seigneur et arboré les armes du Roy, comme chez les Akansas, et remercié Dieu de nous avoir fait la grâce de la descouverte de la mer," is Membré's version of the ceremony which took place near the mouth of the Mississippi.

[46] "Et des nations qui peuvent y estre," Tonti.

[47] "Les armes du Roy," Tonti.

[48] See *supra,* introduction.

[49] "M. de la Salle désiroit d'avoir du blé de gré ou de force," Tonti.

[50] "Il passa l'apres dine un Canot qui vint nous braver," wrote Tonti; Bernou probably thought this too impudent on the part of the Indians; he changed the words as in the text.

de cousteaux et de rasade, luy faisant entendre que les trois autres la suivroient bientost, et qu'elle luy fist apporter du bled d'Inde.

Le lendemain, quelques sauvages ayant paru à terre, le sieur De la Salle alla les trouver, et il conclut la paix avec eux; il receut et donna des ostages, et alla camper auprès de leur village, où l'on luy apporta quelque peu de blé; le soir il renvoya les femmes et retira ses gens.[51] Le jour d'après, avant le jour, celuy qui estoit en sentinelle[52] avertit qu'il entendoit du bruit parmy les cannes qui bordent la rivière. Le sieur Dautray dit que ce n'estoit rien,[53] mais le sieur de la Salle ayant encore entendu du bruit cria aux armes, et que c'estoient des sauvages.[54] Aussytost on entendit des cris de guerre,[55] et décocher des flèches de fort près. Le sieur de la Salle et ses gens firent grand feu: le combat dura deux heures, et le jour estant venu, les sauvages prirent la fuite, après avoir eu des hommes[56] tuez et plusieurs blessez, sans que pas un de la troupe du sieur De la Salle fust tué ny blessé.[57] Ses gens voulurent aller brusler le village de ces perfides; mais comme il vouloit ménager l'esprit de ces sauvages, il s'y opposa sous prétexte qu'ils avoient peu de munitions.[58]

Il partit le mesme jour 16e d'avril, et arriva le 1er de may au village des Koroa, après avoir beaucoup souffert avec tous ses gens faute de vivres. Les Koroa estoient alliez des Quinipisa, et ils avoient, à dessein de les venger,[59] ensemblé les sauvages de quatre villages; mais le sieur de la Salle se tint si bien sur ses gardes qu'ils n'osèrent rien entreprendre.[60] Ainsy il reprit le bled qu'il avoit caché près de là, et il continua sa route. Il fut surpris en cet endroit de voir que le bled d'Inde, qui commençoit seulement à sortir de terre le 29 mars,[61] estoit desjà bon à manger,[62] et il d'Avril le bled d'Inde estoit en fleur aux Koroas," Membré.
aprit ensuite *qu'il meurissait en 40 jours.*[63] *Il fut très bien receu par les Taensa et par les Akansa, chez lesquels il arriva le 17e de may.* IL TOMBA dangereusement MALADE quelques jours après et à cent lieues de la

---

51 The text in Tonti's letter reads: "deux Quinipisa vinrent en nostre camp, et André Hunaut, et un loup allerent en leur village, et fumes camper a 5 arpens pres, et y renvoyames les femmes, et le françois, et le loup revinrent." The comparison between the two texts may serve as an illustration of the manner in which Bernou adapted the letter of Tonti.

52 Tonti gives the name of the sentry, Colin.

53 "Le Sr d'Autray repondit c'est peut estre des Chiens," Tonti.

54 "Ce sont des hommes," Tonti.

55 Sasacouest, as before.

56 Perhaps "des hommes" is a misprint in Thomassy; Tonti has "dix hommes"; so has the Renaudot copy.

57 "Sans que personne de nous eut aucun mal," Tonti.

58 Another illustration of Bernou's method is supplied by this passage: "Sur le midy M. de la Salle fut avec moitié de francois, et de loups briser de leurs Canots, ils estoient en embuscade tout proche, mais ils se contenterent de fuir en faisant la huée. On tint conseil le soir pour aller le lendemain a leur village, mais le peu de munition qui nous restoit nous fit resoudre a nous en aller le mesme jour 16, en faisant les cris de leurs morts. Les loups leverent deux chevelures sans trouver les autres corps que leurs gens avoient emporté."

59 Tonti is more colloquial: "lesquels [Koroa] s'estoient mis en devoir de nous jouer un mauvais tour." "Ensemblé" is a misprint for "assemblé," this is the reading of the Renaudot copy.

60 ". . . et craignant les fusils ils changerent de resolution," Tonti.

61 "Jour de Pasques," is repeated, cf. *supra.*

62 ". . . fut bon le 1er May a faire du petit bled," Tonti. "A la fin

63 Membré has fifty days; the Renaudot copy also has fifty days.

rivière des Illinois.[64] **Cet accident l'obligea d'envoyer devant le sieur De Tonti** pour porter les premières nouvelles de sa découverte,[65] qu'il escrivit de Missilimakinac au comte de Frontenac le 23 juillet 1682, **après avoir sur sa route sauvé la vie à quelques Iroquois poursuivis par trente Tamaroa, Caskia, et Omissoury.**[66]

Cependant le sieur De la Salle fut arresté 40 jours par sa maladie qui le réduisit à l'extrémité; mais, Dieu luy ayant renvoyé la santé, il s'avança à petites journées à cause de sa faiblesse jusqu'à la rivière des Miamis, où il arriva vers le mois de septembre dernier, mais l'approche de l'hyver l'a empesché de descendre à Québec. Il a de cette sorte achevé la plus importante et la plus difficile découverte qui ait jamais esté faite par aucun François sans avoir perdu un seul homme, dans des pays où Jean Ponce de Léon, Pamphile de Narvaez et Ferdinand Soto ont péri sans aucun succès, avec plus de deux mille Espagnols.—Jamais aucun Espagnol n'a fait de pareilles entreprises avec si peu de monde et tant d'ennemis. Mais il n'en a tiré aucune utilité pour luy mesme, ses malheurs et les fréquens obstacles qu'il a trouvez luy ayant fait perdre plus de deux cent mille livres, ainsi qu'il le justifiera par des comptes fidèles, à son retour en France. Il s'estimera néantmoins fort heureux s'il avoit pu faire quelque chose pour la gloire et pour l'avantage de la France, et si ses travaux luy peuvent faire mériter la protection de Monseigneur.

JEAN DELANGLEZ
Institute of Jesuit History

[64] Membré gives the distance as being 200 leagues from the Gulf.

[65] Tonti tells why he was sent ahead: "pour lever ses [La Salle's] caches aux Miamis et venir icy [Michilimackinac] pour acheter des hardes dont ont besoin les gens qui doivent s'establir aux Ilinois, ou je commanderay, et les autres aux Miamis."

[66] Tonti narrates this episode in detail at the end of his letter.

DESCRIPTIVE CHARTS OF

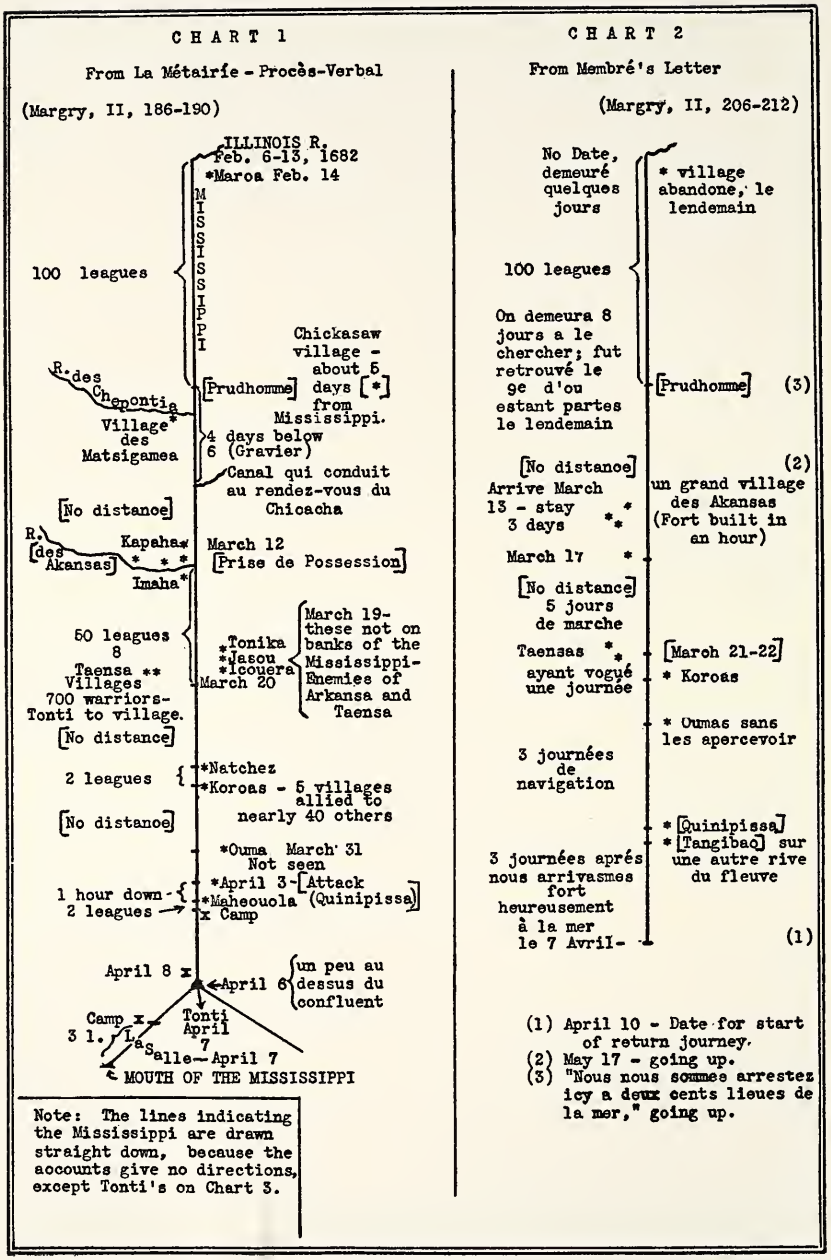
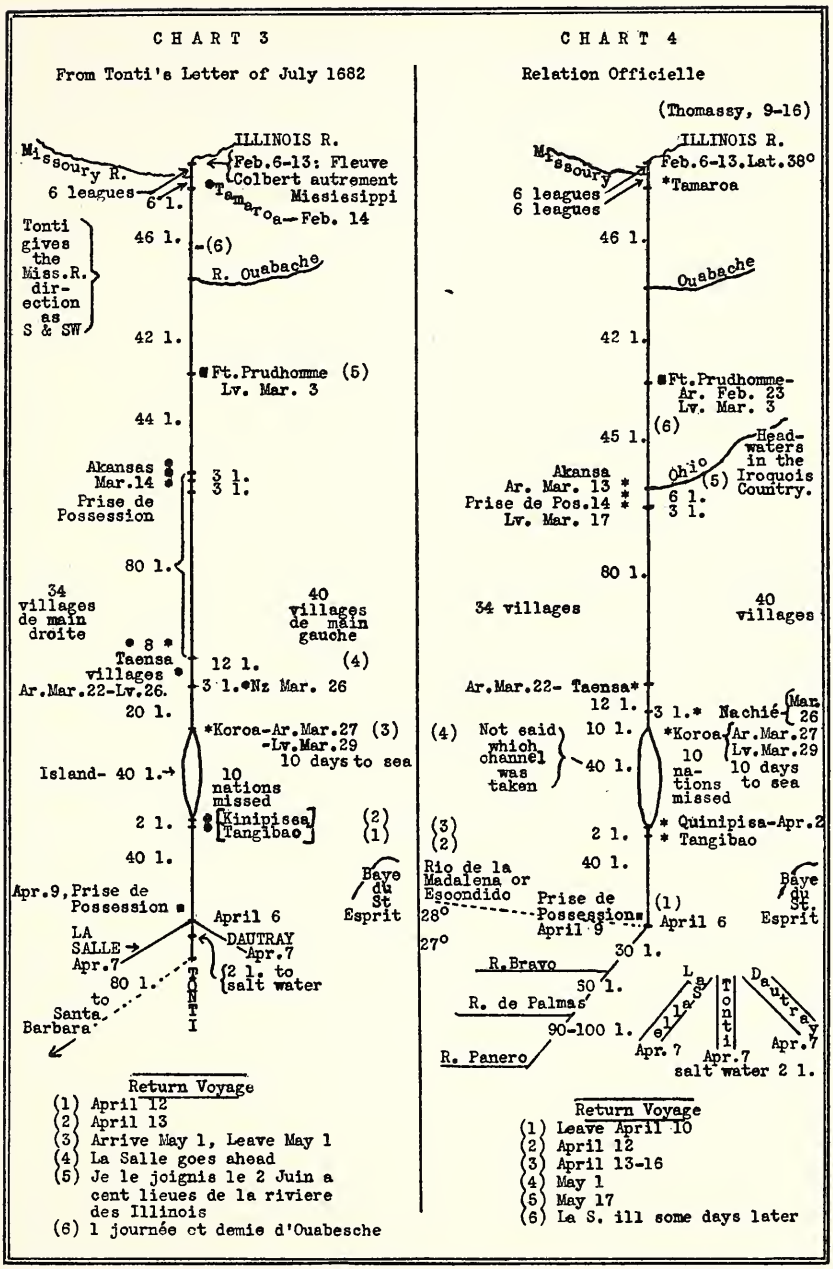


CHART 1
From La Métairie - Procès-Verbal
(Margry, II, 186-190)
ILLINOIS R.
Feb. 6-13, 1682
*Maroa Feb. 14
MISSISSIPPI
100 leagues
Chickasaw village - about 6 days [*] from Mississippi.
R. des Chepontia
[Prudhomme]
Village des Matsigamea
4 days below
6 (Gravier)
Canal qui conduit au rendez-vous du Chicacha
[No distance]
R. des Akansas
Kapaha
Imaha
March 12
[Prise de Possession]
50 leagues
8 Taensa Villages
700 warriors-
Tonti to village.
*Tonika
*Jasou
*Icouera
March 20
March 19- these not on banks of the Mississippi- Enemies of Arkansa and Taensa
[No distance]
2 leagues
*Natchez
*Koroas - 5 villages allied to nearly 40 others
[No distance]
*Ouma March 31
Not seen
*April 3 - [Attack
*Maheouola (Quinipissa)
1 hour down - 2 leagues
x Camp
April 8 x
April 6
un peu au dessus du confluent
Camp x 3 l.
Tonti April 7
La Salle - April 7
MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI
Note: The lines indicating the Mississippi are drawn straight down, because the accounts give no directions, except Tonti's on Chart 3.
CHART 2
From Membré's Letter
(Margry, II, 206-212)
No Date, demeuré quelques jours
* village abandone, le lendemain
100 leagues
On demeura 8 jours a le chercher; fut retrouvé le 9e d'ou estant partes le lendemain
[Prudhomme] (3)
[No distance]
Arrive March 13 - stay 3 days
(2) un grand village des Akansas (Fort built in an hour)
March 17
[No distance] 5 jours de marche
Taensas
ayant vogué une journée
[March 21-22]
* Koroas
* Oumas sans les apercevoir
3 journées de navigation
* [Quinipissa]
* [Tangibao] sur une autre rive du fleuve
3 journées aprés nous arrivasmes fort heureusement à la mer le 7 Avril-
(1)
(1) April 10 - Date for start of return journey.
(2) May 17 - going up.
(3) "Nous nous sommes arrestez icy a deux cents lieues de la mer," going up.



J. V. Jacobsen, del.

DOCUMENTS

The Texas Missions in 1785*

Introduction

The story of the colonial beginnings of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California is inseparably bound up with the narrative of the Spanish missionary advance into what became our southern and western states. In these places for generations after their establishment, the mission chains played their part as frontier institutions necessary for the progress of empire and Christianity. Then came the time when the missions passed away. Like that for the other lands, the history of the missions of Texas from their rise to their decline is now written. Dr. Carlos Castañeda has recently published the fourth volume of *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, The Passing of the Missions,* bringing the account down to the period of the secularizations.

Many reasons may be offered for the decline of the missions of Texas, and many documents may be brought forth in support of the various contentions. Yet one of the principal documentary sources of the closing decade of the mission era in Texas will be that published below, the report made by Father Fray José Francisco López to the Most Reverend Rafael José Verger, Bishop of Nuevo León, by order of Viceroy José de Gálvez. The graphic account presented by Fray López after his detailed inspection of the missions, particularly of the chain down the San Antonio River from San Antonio, reveals the chief reasons for the physical and economic decline of the Franciscan chain everywhere in the Province of Texas. Over and above its value to historians and anthropologists, the report rings out clearly as a last cry for help for a benighted people.

In view of the great suffering and want of the settlers and natives a special appeal was made on their behalf to His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain. The types of misery prevalent in the province are revealed in the document, as well as is the trouble caused by the soldiery and raiding Indians. Outstanding among the causes for the decline of the settlements and missions

* Translation made from a photostat copy in the University of Texas, from a certified copy made by the secretary of the Bishop of Monterrey in 1789, now in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, California.

was the civil administration of the area, especially in the matter of the transfer of property, which heretofore had been privately owned but was now confiscated by the government, leaving the subjects of the King in sore distress and poverty. Such factors ultimately spelled the doom of missionary activities in Texas. The edict of secularization soon followed. Most of the establishments that had long been consecrated by the apostolic zeal, religious services, and the blood of many martyrs for the cause of Christianity, were closed.

THE TEXAS MISSIONS IN 1785

Report and Account That the Father President of the Missions in the Province of Texas or New Philippines Sends to the Most Illustrious Señor Fray Rafael José Verger of the Council of His Majesty, the Bishop of the New Kingdom of León, in Accordance with the Royal Order that, on January 31, 1781, Was Issued at El Pardo and Was Sent to His Illustrious Lordship, the Bishop, by the Most Excellent Viceroy Count of Gálvez, on August 4, 1785, filed [for Permanent Record] in the Archives of this Presidency.

Mission San Antonio de Valero

This mission is situated across the [San Antonio] river from San Antonio de Béxar. It is built to form almost a square, surrounded by a single stone and mud wall that stands about 300 paces from the center. The same rampart serves as a wall for most of the fifteen or sixteen houses, with ample capacity for lodging the Indians. Nearly all the houses are covered with wood and mortar, as a protection against the rain, and have hand-carved, wooden doors with locks and iron keys. Within the square is the granary, made of stone and lime, which has enough room to hold two thousand *fanegas* [4000 bushels] of corn, two hundred or more *fanegas* of beans, etc. Next is the house or living quarters, adequate for the missionary and the officers of the community, made of stone and lime, with good roofs, doors, windows, and locks. Adjoining this building is the sacristy (which serves today as the church), while another room now serves as the sacristy. Both structures are of stone and mortar and are built with arched roofs. This mission has under construction a church with a very large nave, whose walls are built as high as the cornices, but the latter have been built only in the dome of the presbytery. In the front, its beautiful façade

of wrought stone has been completed to the same height as the walls. At this point the construction stopped many years ago for lack of qualified workmen. For this and other reasons that in general will follow, it cannot now be carried on to completion. The lowest evaluation that may be placed upon the church and sacristy is twenty thousand *pesos,* with an additional eight thousand for the furnishings and ornaments. About the funds of this community more will be said in the general discussion to follow. In personnel [*lo formal*] this mission consists of

Married couples, 12, from 20 to 50 years of age.....	24
Widowers and bachelors, from 25 to 40 years of age..	8
Boys, from 1 to 10 years and one girl.....	20
Total number of persons.....	52

This mission was founded with Indians of various nations, such as the Hierbipiames, Pataguas, Scipxames, Xaranames, Samas, Payatas (these last two were the principal ones), Yutas, Kiowas, Tovs, and Tamiques; but all these may be considered as Samas and Payas, whose language is in general use. Spanish is now more commonly used, the Indians having married mulattoes and mestizoes (who are called *Coyotes* in this country). Also it should be noted that although this mission was founded in the year 1716,* most of the Indians in it, and there are more than fifty, are sons of uncivilized natives; and, further, they were baptized as adults when some were as much as forty years of age.

Mission La Purísima Concepcion de Acuna

This mission is situated on the bank of the River of San Antonio de Béxar, at a distance of one league from the presidio and from the mission already described. It stands on a clearing, protected by the woods along the river. The mission is square in shape and enclosed by a stone and mud wall, low in parts, and provided with three ample openings, one on the east, another on the west, and a third on the south. These have gates of carved wood with good locks. This rampart serves as a wall for houses of the same material. These furnish ample shelter for the Indians. In fact, there are twenty-three rooms, with flat roofs; and although some of them are in a ruinous state, they

* The mission was formally established in 1718 by Father Francisco Buenaventura de Olivares and Captain Martín de Alarcón, Governor of Texas.

are not difficult to restore or repair. In the present year all or nearly all will be rebuilt. On the east side stands the roomy house of the missionaries, and the offices of the community, all made of stone and lime, nearly all provided with arched roofs. This is a one-story building except for one room built above. The sacristy and the church adjoin the main stone and lime structure; they are both very notable for this country because of the two towers and the beautiful cupola. The church and sacristy together are valued at 30,000 *pesos,* and their furnishings and ornaments at three or four thousand. East of the church is a spacious granary about fifteen or twenty *varas* in length, and eight or nine *varas* in width, with walls of stone and lime, and a flat, wooden roof. This building may be valued at not less than one thousand *pesos.* The mission consists of

Married couples, 17, from 25 to 60 years of age	34
Widowers and one widow, from 30 to 80 years of age	13
Bachelors, about 20 years of age	2
Children	22
Total number of persons	71

Although these people are descendents of the various nations for whom this mission was founded, such as the Paxalotes, or Paxalaches (the corrupt form), Sciquipiles, Sanipaos, Pacaos, Tacames, Borrados, and Manos de Perro, they are now reduced to and generally called Paxalaches. The language of the latter is the one most commonly used; and although nearly all speak Spanish, it is with notable imperfection. It should be noted that most of the Indians were baptized after they were fullgrown and that those over forty years of age are children of uncivilized Indians.

Mission San José de Aguayo

This mission, like the preceding ones, is situated on the west bank of the San Antonio River, south (downstream) of those already described, at a distance of about one league from Mission Concepción and two from that of San Antonio and the Royal Presidio. Situated on a broad plain, rather sparsely wooded, its grounds and buildings, surrounded by a rampart of stone-and-mud houses, offer an attractive sight. All the houses have hand-carved wooden doors, some with good locks. The rampart has four gates, each suitable for its purpose and directly facing one point of the compass. All have good strong locks. In

addition to these main entrances there are two other smaller ones at places where they were deemed necessary on account of the growth of the pueblo, which from end to end may be said to be about 200 *varas*. These houses are built next to each other and have ample room, with a kitchen for each family. They are sufficiently protected against rain, wind, and other inclemencies of the weather. On the west corner along the wall, separated from the habitations of the Indians by a street, stand the missionary's house, the church, and the sacristy. The first contains not only rooms for housing the missionaries, but also a kitchen, and the offices of the community. It is all of stone and lime and flat-roofed; the quarters for the missionary form a second story, and every part is in good taste. The church, with the sacristy, is contiguous to the other house so that through the latter one may enter a comparatively good pulpit in the presbytery. The church and the sacristy, because of their architecture, are the most beautiful structures to be seen anywhere this side of Saltillo. They may be valued without hesitation at 30,000 *pesos,* and their furnishings at eight or ten thousand. The numerous ornaments, some of them of silver, include a frontal, a throne, and a baldaquin. It is evident that the lack of other ornaments is due to the notable decline suffered by the mission as a result of influences which will be explained and discussed in the general report. The same happened to the other missions already referred to, and, in fact, to all of them, as will be seen when their funds are discussed. The mission consists of

Christians

Married couples, 24, from 18 to 60 years of age.....	48
Widowers and widows, from 40 to 80 years of age..	11
Bachelors, between 15 and 20 years of age.....	9
Children, from 1 to 10 years of age.....	38

Gentiles

Barrados, from 6 to 50 years of age.....	32
(Five of these have been baptized *in articulo mortis.*)	
Total number of persons.....	138

With the exception of the Gentile Barrados who came last year (1784) from the coast, the personnel is made up of the Pampopas and Postitos; and their language is the usual one in this mission, although most of them speak Spanish less incorrectly than in the other missions. Finally, this mission has al-

ways been the most populous in spite of having been the most affected by the plague of buboes; and furthermore it has been the richest, because the Indians are less indolent in the cultivation of the fields and the care of the herds.

Mission San Juan de Capistrano

This mission is situated about one and a quarter or one and a half leagues from San José, two leagues from Concepción, and three or little more from San Antonio and the Royal Presidio de Béxar. It stands on the banks of the San Antonio River, in a small valley [*vega*], covered everywhere by woods. It is square in shape, with a wall like the others and with three entrances, one somewhat larger than the others. Adjoining this wall are the houses or Indians' lodgings, for the most part of the usual materials. Near one corner of the wall is a large house, with sufficient space for the missionary and with rooms for the usual offices. Joined to this house is the granary, also of ample space, and of a similar construction. Near the house, but not joining it, is the church and sacristy now in use. The structure is valued at fifteen hundred *pesos* and its furnishings and ornaments at that same amount or more. Another was being built, but it was left about half-finished; up to that time about 3,000 *pesos* had been spent, not counting the work of the Indians. The reason for stopping work was the same as in the case of San Antonio, that is, the lack of Indians. In addition, and more important perhaps, is the penury into which this mission has fallen, the reason for which will be explained in the general discussion of the condition of all the missions. The mission consists of

Married couples, 21, from 18 to 60 years of age.....	42
Widowers and widows, from 20 to 70 years of age....	5
Bachelors and children, from 1 to 20 years of age....	11
Total number of persons.....	58

These people, for the most part, are descended from the nations of the Pamaques, Orejones, and Marahuiayos; and they usually speak their own languages. They are children of recently converted and baptized adult Indians and are known as Marahuitos, the name given to all members of this mission.

Mission San Francisco de la Espada

The site of this mission is on the west bank of the river, one half league from that of San Juan de Capistrano, one and a half

leagues from San José, two and a half from Concepción. It lies between three and a fourth and four leagues down the river from San Antonio and the Royal Presidio, on a plain that is on the watershed, and is thickly covered with woods. The mission is square in shape and is surrounded by a stone and mud wall. Contiguous to these walls are the houses, mostly of stone and mud, where the Indians live. The missionary's house, the church, and the sacristy, which adjoin each other, take up half of the west side. They are of stone and lime and have sufficient room for all purposes. The church and sacristy, on account of their superior construction and their ornaments and furnishings, are valued at three or four thousand *pesos*. On the south side stands the granary, which is of stone and mud, but which has enough room to meet its requirements. This mission, like the others, was very populous; but, for the reasons that will be noted in the general discussion, its population has fallen very much, as will be shown by the list of the persons now living in it:

Married couples, 14, from 40 to 80 years of age.....	28
Widowers and widows, from 40 to 80 years of age....	13
Bachelors and children, from 1 to 15 years of age....	16
Total number of persons.....	57

These are descendents of the Pacao nation (which was fairly numerous when the mission was founded for its benefit, their language being the one most commonly used) and the Barrados Marahuitos. Many of the latter were brought from the south coast, to which some returned and died, while others of this nation died in the mission during the small epidemic in the recent year of 1780. No small number have died and are dying of buboes.

Mission El Espíritu Santo de la Bahía

This mission is forty leagues downstream from the others, and is very near the southern seacoast. It is situated on an elevated spot accessible to the edge of the river, which runs between it and the Royal Presidio, usually called *La Bahía*. The mission, rectangular in shape, is completely surrounded by the corresponding wall. Next to this are the houses of the Indians, some of which, as in the other missions, have flat and others hay or grass roofs. The office and quarters of the missionary are in a house adjoining the church and sacristy. All are of stone and lime, have wooden roofs, and offer more than ample

room. These, with their furnishings and ornaments, may be valued at twelve thousand *pesos*. The mission consists of

Married couples, 31, from 20 to 60 years of age.....	62
Widowers and widows, from 30 to 80 years of age...	15
Bachelors and children, from 1 to 20 years of age...	39
Total number of persons.....	116

Nearly as many natives have fled to the coast and woods, both from among those who were brought from there, and from those who, born in the mission, were induced by the bad example of the coastal Indians, to follow them. Neither the clamor nor the supplications of the missionaries have been successful in obtaining repressive measures from the Governor of the Province to put a stop to the almost daily escapes (even when these occur in his presence). Consequently, unless it be by the Grace of Heaven, that is, unless a remedy is found in the form of a particular or special intercession of Providence, this mission and all the others will be depopulated, abandoned, and destroyed within a few years. As a result of the pressing need felt for the labor necessary to support the missions, they are experiencing great scarcity, while the renegades, like fierce brutes, scare and seduce the other civilized Indians, who may be inclined to listen to the Evangelical Word. To this situation it must be added that since for this reason the wealth of these missions is diminishing, it is easy to understand the lack of ability to effect new conversions or to support those who are converted or may be converted. NOTE: Here it is necessary to state that the only wealth that this mission has enjoyed since its erection has been that derived from the herds of cattle (for on account of the bad weather and drought and the impossibility of irrigating, there has been no assistance furnished by agriculture as in the other missions). With only this wealth the mission was able to sustain and even grow and perpetuate itself without difficulty; even having had to buy grain for its consumption, it still had enough income for its members to dress more decently than is common among Indians, though they were more numerous than they are today; nor were the means lacking to spend considerable sums annually on public worship, as is evidenced by the value of the church, its furnishings, and its ornaments, none of which are very old; for on account of the strong south winds from the salt marshes, an almost constant replacement is necessary for the images and other ornaments.

In order that we may more easily understand what that property has been, it seems opportune to explain it more thoroughly. Thus it should be noted that twelve years ago this mission had branded more than fifteen thousand head of cattle, counted at the door of the corral, while many remained in the woods and were not included. And of those unbranded there was an incomparably greater number. Today not three thousand branded head could be gathered; and these, added to the unbranded ones, will not amount to the number that twelve years ago were in the branded group alone. All this has resulted from the visit to this province made by the Commander General in the year 1778. Returning to his headquarters without being sufficiently well-informed, he declared that all wild or unbranded cattle within his jurisdiction belonged to the royal treasury, without need of citing the parties interested or allowing representations or claims that might obviate the effect of his declaration, thus exceeding not only the bounds prescribed by the laws of this kingdom but also those prescribed by the laws of Castile and even universally recognized rights. He ordered no other formality to be observed in carrying out the new policy than the publication of his decree, which was to be obeyed to the letter. Thus he opened a wide door to numberless irregularities. In this way the supply of branded and unbranded cattle has diminished to the state already mentioned. It is not easy to ascertain who has eaten or killed off the most. It may be the Apache Indians who, on a moderate estimate, account for at least twenty head a day. It may be the Spanish hunters [*carneadores*] who, on each expedition, kill more than a hundred head, and sometimes two hundred, the expeditions being undertaken weekly and sometimes more often. In the third place it may be the purveyors for the presidio, who, from month to month, do not fail to bring to the presidio more than a hundred and fifty beeves. Fourth, it may be the soldiers in charge of the horses [*citiado de cavallada*], who are not satisfied with two beeves a day for twenty men, but on occasions kill four, and as a result most of the meat spoils or is thrown away because it cannot be carried from place to place as the herd wanders. Fifth, it may be the troops of the presidio, who, when they go out to reconnoiter, that is, to explore the land, or when they go out to bring grass for fodder for the animals, generally three or four of the party, or as many as are able lead a yearling apiece from their saddles. Usually they catch the offspring of the branded cows, and only seldom do they bring in that of unbranded ones. This

they do every afternoon when they are able, and they hardly ever fail. Lastly, it may be those who have taken away whole herds during the last eight years, totaling more than fifteen thousand head, most of them cows. Whether the said Decree [*Providencia*] is the primary cause of the orders of subaltern officers cannot be determined with certainty. But this can be determined if these orders are compared with the old and very just and prudent regulations [*Providencias*] of the most excellent viceroys to prevent the serious injustices which even they foresaw would befall the property and wealth of the Indians and to conserve them in their reduction. To this end it seemed convenient to their Excellencies to impose upon the chiefs of this presidio and the justices of this jurisdiction a fine of 1,500 *pesos* even for a minor case of transgression; for they knew that although the violation might seem mild or harmless, still in its effects it would be serious. What would not their Excellencies do to prevent the grave transgressions against the provisions of royal, ecclesiastical, and divine law as a means of preserving common justice in this kingdom, particularly among the neophytes, whose will is so weak and inconsistant? What would they not do in order to prevent those judicial acts that are so ordered as to break down and destroy the spiritual worth [*edificio espiritual*] of these conversions? But *O tempora! O mores!* That was long ago, when the Assessors, General Military Auditors, and His Majesty's Chancellors enacted such rulings; but in the judgment of present-day officers, they little understood the spirit of the law and looked out less carefully for the increase and conservation of the royal treasury. But today, when all these things are better understood, the disregard of the former regulations is considered better than the conservation and propagation of the missions [*conversiones*]. But in order to maintain them, [the new regulations], the royal revenue will suffer a loss (becoming nothing, even as it is today) because of the expense entailed in the collection of what is called *wild cattle* by the missionaries.

Since the first decree there have been issued many voluminous regulations with severe penalties for branding wild cattle, even those that can be logically proved the offspring of branded mothers and are found together with them in the pastures or private ranches. In accord with the principle enunciated, most of the cattle are unbranded and generally attract the smaller herds. An ultimate consequence is that all the cattle are now wild. They belong to the royal treasury, and they are at the

disposal of the Governor and the Justice of His Majesty in this Province. And what is more important, there is an urgent need for the quota of cattle that, with the Chief's permission, the missions are accustomed to take for their daily sustenance from the unmarked herds. This is done, even though it entails the selling of the grain, gathered with much labor, that is needed for the support of the missions; the Indians with their missionaries have been in need of it for some time, because there remain no other satisfactory means of satisfying their requirements. And although this situation is common to all the missions, it is placed here because this mission is the one most badly in need of this note.

New Settlement at Nacogdoches

By order of His Excellency the Viceroy there have been at this settlement two missionaries since the year 1775, principally for the purpose of bringing about the reduction of the Orqoquisac, Vidai, Texas, and the other tribes of that region. Its distance from here [San Antonio de Valero] is about two hundred leagues; the intervening land is entirely unpopulated but very suitable for being settled because of its natural beauty and rich resources, and its many promising sites or places that, if they were colonized, would be very profitable to the Crown and to the Kingdom. This would also be the most expeditious means of achieving the civilization of many tribes and peoples, who, influenced by the proximity of the settlements, or attracted by reasonable and polite dealings with the Spaniards, might without much difficulty, abandon their wild habits, become inclined to a more sociable life, and accept the catechism and Christian instruction. In addition to this primary purpose the two missionaries are there to administer spiritually to the settlers without charging them fees or parish dues of any kind, or making any sort of collection, even for things that may appear most just, such as the expense for the maintenance of a sacristan, etc.

The Suppressed Mission of Nuestra Senora del Santísimo Rosario

The Indians of this mission have fled to the coast on the persuasion of a peevish and very perverse Indian. Since the latter happened to be more like a Spaniard, that is, he spoke the Spanish tongue better, he managed to insinuate his way into the flexible, indiscrete, and corruptible minds of the Indians and stir them up until they ran away. This is a matter worthy of men-

tion, of being kept in mind and made known in order that proper measures be taken in due time, in the other missions. Such culprits as this Indian are generally the worst element, being responsible for the corruption and loss of the Indians in missions and pueblos, and also being the cause of the depopulation of some and complete destruction of others. This Indian of Rosario Mission, continuing there in his obstinacy, has committed execrable evils, and is the reason that many fugtives from other missions have never returned. In Rosario remained only women who, as a safeguard against the dangers of that vicinity, were transferred to the mission of San Juan Capistrano, where most of them have died. One after another they have followed their kin. Thus the mission, which from its very beginnings flourished and thrived, has been destroyed. It was situated one league from the mission and presidio at La Bahía. Its ornaments, especially the church furnishings, have been transferred to La Bahía, where they are kept in safety. Some of these ornaments were destroyed when the house fell in ruins. Its funds or wealth consisted mainly of cattle and horses, the branded number of which exceeded ten thousand head. Of these the Apaches, Lipans, and coastal tribes have left not even a sign.

General Discussion or Summary of What Has Been Said Concerning Each of the Missions

These missions, as stated in the title of this report, are in the Province of Texas, which belongs in its secular aspects to the Command [*Comandancia*] of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, and in its ecclesiastical affairs to the Bishopric of Nuevo León. The missions consist of towns protected by walls, with houses for inhabitants, each house roofed with timber and mud, and provided with a good floor. Some, according to the facilities of each mission, have façades of carved wood, and iron locks in the houses as well as in the ramparts. In this protective wall there are three or four doors for varying purposes and on different sides. In the center and at the most advantageous place in these missions are the houses for the missionaries, with sufficient room for living quarters and the other needs. Adjoining this house, or not far away from it, is the church and sacristy as described in the individual reports.

These missions were never under the care of the Reverend Fathers of the suppressed Company of Jesus. They were founded, organized, and developed by the Apostolic Missionaries of the Order of Saint Francis, who have kept and tended them,

EX LIBRIS PROVINCIAE PRO STUDIIS UNIV. S.S. CORDIS JESU

6868

as sons of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro and of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, in the seven pueblos as already described. These are San Antonio de Valero, La Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San José de Aguayo, San Juan de Capistrano, Nuestro Padre San Francisco de la Espada (which are in an area of three or four leagues along the banks of the San Antonio River), El Espíritu Santo de La Bahía, and Nuestra Señora del Rosario, which, as already stated, is abandoned and in ruins today as a result of the flight of its Indians to the coast from where they were brought. These missions in the beginning were founded for and organized with Indians of the most diversified nations, such as the Paxalotes, Orejones, Pacaos, Pocoas, Filiyoyos, Alozapas, Pausanes, Pacuaches, Mezcales, Pompopas, Tacames, Chayapines, Benados, Parnaques, Sciquipiles, Barrados, Manos de Perro, and others. But nearly all these very different nations have been reduced to one language, which is common or uniform in meaning and differs only in the greater or less stress or speed with which some Indians, called Bozales, because they use and understand very little Spanish, are being instructed. In spte of what has been said, Spanish is generally and commonly spoken among both Spaniards and Indians, although, in the case of the latter, with noticeable imperfection or (in the common expressions) with stones in their mouths.

As already stated, these missions were organized and founded by the Apostolic Franciscan Missionaries, some by the sons of the Apostolic College of la Santisima Cruz de Querétaro, and others by those of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. Today the latter have charge of the administration of all the missions. In them there are employed nine missionaries as follows: six resident, one in each mission, one supernumerary who substitutes for the sick or unavoidably absent, and two in the new settlement of Nacogdoches, as mentioned in the discussion of that establishment. These missionaries are assigned to their places by the prelate of their college, in conformity with the provisions of the Apostolic Bulls for the Seminaries of *Propaganda Fide,* issued, approved, and passed on by the Apostolic See and the Royal Council of the Indies. The precision and punctuality with which these missionaries discharge the duties of their ministry may be inferred by remembering that they are continually under the supervision of a Father President, who with the authority of a legitimate prelate granted and delegated to him by the Reverend Guardian of his College, resides in the locality of the missions. He is elected from among those who

enjoy the best reputation for virtue, prudence, and learning in the College and is, whenever possible, the senior. And from time to time when it is deemed necessary and opportune, the College designates by a unanimous vote of its Senior Council a serious-minded missionary as an Inspector. He is always the best-prepared in general background for the achieving of his mission. He makes a very careful examination of every phase of life pertinent to the missions and missionaries; but especially he inquires if they comply well with the duties of the ministry to which they have been assigned and if they manage the property of the Indians with the greatest personal disinterestedness, legality, and exactness. Likewise he examines whether the missionaries properly look after the needs of their indigent constituents. They remove at once those who have fallen into serious fault, acting in this matter with more asperity than leniency. Page by page he inspects the records of income and expenses, in which very punctilious note is made of each item. As soon as these missionaries reach their respective assignments, they make the most diligent attempt to learn, through use and daily intercourse, the language of their charges. This is the only means they have for communication, although usually the missionaries insist that the Indians understand and use Spanish, as is ordered by the laws of the kingdom. This order is complied with by speaking often with the adults and by teaching the children usually or always to read, and, if it is deemed practical (which is not always the case) to write and figure. The piety of our Lord the King (May God keep Him) has appropriated for the missionaries the prebend or annual *sínodo* of 450 *pesos*. This amount is paid from His royal treasury and is drawn by the Apostolic Treasurer, acting as representative of the missionaries, with certificates from the royal judges of the region and by order of the Commandant of these Interior Provinces. Neither now nor ever have the missionaries demanded or received any compensation or fees, large or small, from either the Indians or the Spaniards. On the contrary they added the prebend to the products from the missions, limiting themselves to a most meager allowance, and leaving the balance for the Church expenses and the Divine Cult. In these churches and towns there are no confraternities or brotherhoods, for there is barely time for more than the teaching of the Faith and the administration of baptism.

In temporal matters these missions are governed and administered in the style and fashion of a family, by a common father

who, being the spiritual head, also looks after their interests and wants with as much careful exactness and punctuality as the best father could do (because their Excellencies the Viceroys, who thought it best, provided that it should be done in that way). Nevertheless, an effort is made to instruct the Indians in civil and political life; and in accord with that purpose and the laws of the kingdom, the custom of electing annually two justices, who are called *governor* and *alcalde,* has been introduced. This is done in the presence of the missionary, and thus there have been Indian governors in the towns. If the pueblos are lacking in men, married couples vote. The voting is done by secret ballot; and those who are elected by a plurality vote have their names submitted to the governor of the Province, who confirms them by a written order [*auto inscriptis*]. During that year these men govern the town according to the established customs of most of the towns in the Province, under the direction and with the advice of the missionary.

The wealth of these missions is derived from the cultivation of corn, beans, chile or pimentos, and fruits like watermelons, cantaloups, pumpkins, and garden produce, as well as from the breeding of sheep, goats, and cattle. Concerning the latter there is something that needs to be said here.

Note: Sheep increase very slowly in this country for many reasons, but especially because the land, being thickly wooded, abounds in wild animals that destroy them. Also many are lost in the brush; and when we add to these reasons first, the indolence of the Indian shepherds and the misfortune of not having reliable herders, and second, the fact that these herds cause some Indians to run away lest greater carefulness be demanded of them, it is plainly impossible, generally speaking, to increase the flocks or even do more than keep them as large as they are. The herds of cattle increase rapidly, and they constitute the principal wealth. All the missions had considerable property of this kind. With these herds they maintained themselves without enduring many hardships or privations; and could they but be restored, the missions would regain their former prosperity. But the Commandant General added to the royal treasury (as mentioned in the note in the description of the Mission of El Espíritu Santo de la Bahía) all the unbranded cattle, which included nearly all of them. The cruel hostility of the Comanches, who at every opportunity killed many persons in the vicinity of the presidio and the missions, and also the numerous and impenetrable forests, where even the gentlest sheep might become so en-

tangled that only with the greatest difficulty could it be extricated, have contributed to the destruction of these herds. Moreover, the herders often ran into ambushes of the Comanches, from which they rarely escaped. Finally, these enemies left the missions without a brood of horses, tame or untamed, with the result that nearly all the herds were unbranded. But the Commandant, disregarding these reasons and many others equally serious, adjudged and declared in his proclamation (although I doubt its wisdom) all the unbranded cattle roaming in the royal domain the property of the royal treasury. But the king's minister did not consider that, in the event of judging them ownerless, he was supposed to safeguard them, to give public notice of the act, to hear the allegations of interested parties, to establish the case by law [*calificar derechos*], etc.; much less did he consider the grave and very prejudicial results that may be feared from such action. As a result these unfortunate missions have been reduced to such penury and want that even in order for them to eat what is unquestionably theirs, that is, the cattle born of their own branded herds and in their pastures or ranches (I call the pastures or ranches theirs whether they were assigned by the regional judge or were possessed in good faith), it is necessary for them to pay like any stranger the stipulated fee of four *reales* per head. And whereas in the past the income from the herds and missionaries' allowance alone was enough to clothe the Indians and pay the expenses of the Divine Cult, now without them [the herds], there is not enough for either. As a result of the policy adopted, these wretches are made to suffer and endure great sorrow, while they observe that the Apaches are allowed, through cunning dissimulation and the Spaniards' tolerance, to cause excessive damages to their cattle, and that the soldiers and citizens are permitted to slaughter them. Both the Apaches and soldiers drive off substantial herds, mostly cows, to distant regions. Therefore it seems that these poor neophytes, in imitation of the Prophet Jeremiah, might raise their voices, bewailing their fate as he does in the fifth chapter of his sorrowful lamentations, and, taking the words from his mouth, so that the anguish of their hearts may reach the ears of their beloved king, say: "Remember O Lord, what is come upon us. Consider and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to aliens; our houses to strangers."*

They are ignorant of our law and faith, who have driven it

* Lamentations of Jeremias: Prayer of the Prophet, Chapter 5, verses 1-2.

[our wealth] away in large and countless herds taken from our lands and ranches even by newcomers, such as the Apaches, who have destroyed greater numbers still, but who, in the guise of friendship, also carry on the most cruel, continuous, and wasting war against us, depriving us of human sustenance by the frightful destruction of our herds. Seeing these enemies masquerading under pretense, we are at a loss to understand what your royal will may be in retaining these presidial troops for our protection and support at such excessive cost. Not only is the enemy not punished, repressed, and taught a lesson, as in the past, but we behold, O Sorrow! these very troops so poorly governed that they turn in large part against us; and, leaving immune the former enemies, they even add to the damages caused by them [the Apaches], killing and destroying our cattle in one endless slaughter. While pretending to protect us, these troops serve only to inflict terrible punishment and reprisals upon us on the least provocation occasioned by our branding our own unbranded cattle or our eating them. As a result it is very possible that there might be imprinted upon our humble minds an impression very distinct from our former conception that in Your Majesty we have not so much a king and master who dominates us, as a very loving father who favors, protects, and defends us. We see many manifestations of your royal and benign protection in the law, particularly when it is stipulated that the royal interests are to be subordinated to ours. But we bemoan ourselves as orphans bereft of such a good father, if the common reasoning founded on such simple tests of your royal will and desires do not satisfy us, that these ministers work against your good intentions, when they tell us that what was plainly ours is not ours. They assign our property to your royal treasury which, no doubt, will profit as much as heretofore; but although the Bureau of Herds [*Ramo de Mesteño*] of this province should have produced over 25,000 *pesos,* we hear that there are hardly six or seven thousand in the treasury controlled by the judge of this territory. It is not known that a single *real* has been taken out to be sent to your treasury. Moreover, we do actually consider ourselves orphans because, while we know that our good father lives, protects, and assists us in every way that is within his command, still, on account of the distance and other hindrances, we see that neither our pleadings nor those of the ones who, like pious mothers under the protection of Your Majesty, assist, care for, and look after our needs, reach your pious ears, and this causes our hope for a remedy to waver. Finally, for these rea-

sons we and our children see ourselves turned out to perish from hunger and even to desert the law and the faith in order to seek in the woods the sustenance of which we are deprived. Thus, unquestionably, these unfortunates, crying out in their hunger, want, and nakedness, realize that their king and lord desires to know the resources which these pueblos enjoy and on what they rely for their subsistence.

With respect to the good order and style in which these missions were founded and have been maintained, in agreement with both human and divine laws, pagan customs are found to be almost completely exterminated. The evil habits that remain are only those that seem to have been inherent. Among these is the slightness of their inclination to do the work necessary for raising corn. In some missions and in some years (like the present one) there is a shortage sometimes, because of the combination of this disinclination and the Indians' susceptibility to the contagion of buboes or *Nanaguates,* a kind of leprous venereal disease (which has become common in the country). Some are excused from work on account of this ailment, and others pretend to have it in order not to have to work. Since there are so many to feed and be clothed, and so few to work, two grave problems arise in acquiring the necessary means: first, the absolute necessities are lacking; second, those who work are so burdened that many try to escape and some succeed in running away permanently to join the *gentiles,* whose life and customs they soon copy. These troubles are inevitable for anyone who administers the practical affairs of the town, for he can neither force a sick man to work nor be sure that those who use that pretext are really ill. He cannot exempt the healthy men from work nor fail to care for the sick. It seems that the only remedy for this situation is that one of the towns near the presidio should be designated as a common sick-ward, and to it each of the other missions should contribute, in proportion to its means, the necessary provisions for the sick. In this way, it seems, that these inconveniences may be remedied, for the sick would be cured, the fakers recognized, and the healthy relieved of much of their labor. It is to be understood that such a plan must meet the approval of both royal and ecclesiastical officers.

Concerning the products of the country, something was said in the discussion of the wealth of the missions. Here it need only be noted that wheat is not sown, although it does well, because the Indians hold it in very low regard in comparison with corn, which is the daily bread of this land, as well as because its

cultivation would interfere with that of the latter, which is here considered absolutely necessary for human life. Although there are some wild berries that the Indians eat readily, they are not as abundant or as appetizing as the bananas, guanavas, *cherimolas, otes, chicos, mameys,* cocoanuts, Brazilian nuts, and other fruits that grow on some coasts or along the sea shore. Nevertheless, there is cultivation of vegetables, fruits, etc., which would give a good, large yield if the weather were not so changeable and if there were fewer of the locusts, grasshoppers, ants, beetles, plant lice, etc., that abound here. All the planting done in these missions, as well as the cultivation and distribution of the crops, is by communal labor. Those, however, who are considered most apt are assigned plots of land to cultivate with delicacies, such as vegetables, watermelons, cantaloups, and cucumbers. But here, just as in the case of the corn and beans that are gathered, no scruples are spared to divide them equally among all, even though, to do this, it is necessary to act with thorough forethought and prudence. Although the Indians in every other way are very limited in comprehension and lacking in reasoning ability, in the matter of concealing idleness or laziness by unostentatious excuses and the appearance of pious sanctity, which they do with consummate hypocrisy, they are very skillful. Thus they avail themselves of the assignment to the gardens or private work, only to slip away from the task and very shamelessly profit from the toil of the others, regardless of whether the latter be their fathers, sons, or brothers.

The tools for this work are provided as follows: Those of iron are acquired through the missionaries from the Apostolic Treasury [*sínodo apostólico*], and those of wood or other material either are made by the Indians who know how to fashion them or by some Spaniard who gets paid for his work. The farms are enclosed within strong, wooden fences that are repaired annually. In all of this work the missionaries, like fathers of a family, or tutors, or instructors of the Indians, determine everything that has to be done, even down to the very smallest details, such as adding to the fence rails that are needed, cleaning the fields by removing the stalks of the previous year, or the roots that sprout, digging, cleaning, or deepening the ditches and irrigation canals, etc.

The accounts of incomes and expenses are carried in a special book in each mission and are reported very punctually and clearly to the Father President, as well as to the Inspector when one comes around. The latter carries a very exact report to the

College, where it is examined by the whole venerable council in order to avoid the censure that might otherwise fall upon the missionaries later on.

The present state of these missions, and also that for the last twelve or fifteen years, may well be compared in personnel and property with that of the Kingdom of the Indies [New Spain] during the fifties and sixties—particularly as regards the Interior Provinces. At that time there flourished several rich mines; the farms were all rich estates; and, with the exception of one or two years when they suffered setbacks, they were very fertile and abundant, whereas in these years all is poverty and want. Most of the mines have been depopulated on account of their extreme destitution, and those that persist do so in the face of indescribable hardships and work. Many of the most prosperous ranches have become wildernesses, deserted by man and beast. In short, decay and dissoluton continue. Here, too, a comparison can be drawn to the trials of Job, who possessed great wealth and was reduced to imponderable misery—once a prince in Idumea and later covered with filth in a stable. For the Indians scarcely have enough to eat and wear, while previously they had enough to adorn their temples and lived in relative comfort.

Likewise these missions suffer a great decrease in personnel, for there are less than half as many individuals as there were in the past. The principal reasons may be reduced to the following: many have died on account of the plague of buboes or *Nanaguates,* as has already been mentioned, and many others from smallpox. Moreover (nor is this less important than the other), in reclaiming the fugitives and preventing the escape of others, though using the most prudent and suitable methods possible, there has been the very greatest negligence on the part of the heads of the province. Therefore (as was said in speaking of the Indians of El Espíritu Santo) many fled from the other missions, impelled by their inclination to the wild, lazy life of the woods. Now many others have joined them. But here lies a great change. In the past the apostolic missionaries went out to the heathen, converted them by means of their enthusiasm and preaching, and brought them to the missions; then they taught them the catechism and instructed them in the mysteries of the Faith. Later, if they wished to be baptised, and stay in the mission, they were added to that group. This is no longer done, because that avenue has been closed by lack of coöperation from the heads of the province in not furnishing the neces-

sary escorts. Moreover, not only through the lack of coöperation but much more because of their actions the missions have suffered, as, for example, in the sequestration of the cattle already mentioned, a loss that has reduced them to great poverty and need. It has already been said that they do not have even enough to support the few remaining Indians. How, then, could we maintain a greater number of newly converted Indians who learn the faith through the mouth rather than through their ears, and are moved more by gifts than by the strongest and clearest reasoning? This the heads of the province should have kept in mind and given much thought to before adopting the resolution of applying to the royal treasury that which, in all justice, belonged to the missions. By going beyond the limits of the laws concerning pastures and cattle, they unquestionably acted against the royal will and intention, which looks primarily to, and orders by just regulations, the conservation and conversion of the Indians into the ranks of the Holy Church. This has been frustrated by political maxims and ill-advised practices.

The desire of Your Excellency has been complied with, pursuant to the royal order already cited. Much that was worthy of Your high understanding, and which might have moved the piety of your lordship to protect and aid the cause of these poor Indians as the father of orphans and miserable wretches, has been omitted. (Canon Law and the doctors of the Church cited by the learned Señor Solórzano, *Política Indiana,* 4, *C,* 7, f. 284. 1 col. declare Your Lordship to be the father of these orphans). Through your intercession the pleadings of these unfortunates might have reached the monarch, who desires to know the past and present condition of the Indians and their interests. Written in this mission of San Antonio de Valero, May 5, 1789. Fray José Franco López.

This document agrees with the original; it was prepared in the Archives of this Episcopal Secretariat, under my charge, and for its consistent faithfulness I sign in this city of Monterrey on the 28th day of November, 1789. Don José Sánchez de Luque.

Translation by,

J. Autrey Dabbs, A. M.
Adjunct Professor of Spanish Language and Literature
St. Edward's University
Austin, Texas

Notes and Comment

LA SALLE'S FIANCEE: A POST-SCRIPT

Last year the October number of MID-AMERICA carried an article, "Mlle. de Roybon d'Allonne: La Salle's Fiancée?" On page 299 reference was made to M. Claude de Bonnault. It was said that in an article published in the *Larousse mensuel,* he had identified Mlle. de Roybon. Notified that his findings were to be exploited by the author of the article in MID-AMERICA, he assembled a sheaf of notes which he sent to Chicago. Owing to the war, they did not reach their destination in time to be utilized; they arrived as the article came off the press.

Some of these notes deal with the ascendants of Mlle. de Roybon, with her father, Jacques de Roybon, (Bibliothèque Nationale, Pièces originales, volume 2584, dossier 57461, *Roybon*), with her great grandfather, her grandfather and her father (Bibliothèque d'Orléans, Manuscrit 612, fol. 251). In the latter genealogy, the entry about Miss de Roybon's father reads: "Jacques de Roybon II, escuier, sieur d'Allonne, gendarme de la compagnie du Roy, et gentilhomme servant de Sa Majesté, espousa demoiselle Elisabeth Baillif par contract du 15 novembre 1631 . . . Est compris au roole des nobles de l'année 1641. Il en eut . . ." The entry stops after these words, as the genealogist was about to enumerate the children of Jacques de Roybon. The authority for asserting that Miss de Roybon's father held the position of carver at the court of Louis XIII is found in a published list giving the name of those who composed the household of the king (E. Griselle, *Etat de la maison du Roi Louis XIII . . .,* Paris 1912, 24 and 140). He held the same post under Louis XIV, his salary being 700 livres (BN, Mss. fr., 23058:23v.).

The Roybon family, wrote M. de Bonnault in the letter which accompanied these extracts, moved into the Gâtinais at a rather late date. The name has a Dauphiné flavor, and the Roybons of Montargis may well be related to the Roybons of Tullins; these in turn are allied to the Saint-Ours family. Now the mother of Etienne de Saint-Ours, the grandfather of Pierre de Saint-Ours, the Carignan regiment captain who settled in Canada, was a Roybon. In the supposition that the two Roybon families, namely, of Montargis and of Tullins, were related, and the latter allied to the Saint-Ours, the statement of Parkman that the person whom La Salle intended to marry was "a damsel of good connections in the colony" would be verified; because, during the Ancien Régime, a two century old relationship was still taken into account, and Madeleine de Roybon could truthfully have claimed that she belonged to the best families in the colony. Thus,

reasoned M. de Bonnault, "she may have been La Salle's fiancee." As was said in the discussion of this passage of Parkman, the "letter of La Salle in the possession of M. Margry" was not seen by the historian. Margry did not publish any letter in which appears either the name of Miss de Roybon or of that of any damsel of good connections in the colony whom La Salle intended to marry. This must first be established and then the fundamental hypothesis of M. de Bonnault should be tested on positive evidence, *i. e.,* the actual relationship of the Roybon who married a Saint-Ours with the family of Madeleine de Roybon.

Besides transcripts from genealogical documents, M. de Bonnault also sent passages from the French official archives which the writer of the article in MID-AMERICA had overlooked (BN, Clairambault, 1016:485v, copy of a letter of Riverin to Villermont, in which the sender speaks of Dongan redeeming Miss de Roybon from the Iroquois) or which were unknown to him. For instance, a résumé of a letter of Miss de Roybon of 1708, shows that the outcome of her petition to Raudot in 1707, which, it was surmised in the previous article, had been pigeonholed, was actually fruitless. In this résumé, there is an added detail which could not be known from the petition to the intendant—Miss de Roybon had crossed the Atlantic in 1706, and had presented in person her claims to the Court. "Having produced all ther titles [to the seigniory granted her by La Salle], His Majesty ordered M. de Vaudreuil to allow her to go back and settle on the said seigniory on condition that she did not trade with the Indians outside its boundaries. She was only allowed to exchange the products of her land, and was forbidden to sell brandy." In the margin of the résumé of her letter, there is the following brief comment: "It is more than was granted to the other" landowners near Fort Frontenac. Both Vaudreuil and Raudot had forbidden her to bring merchandise thither she complained, "which is altogether against the clauses of the concession of the seigniory." Again there is a brief, final marginal comment: "Nothing more may be allowed her, all the more since she is unable to do anything by herself and since her intention is to hand over her rights to other people for a consideration," (Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 29:262).

To illustrate how determined a person Miss de Roybon was, her actions at the time of her lawsuit with de Couagne were pointed out. The letter just quoted shows that when her return to Fort Frontenac was blocked by Vaudreuil and Raudot, she made the long journey to France. More than common energy was needed to cross the Atlantic in those days, especially in the case of a 60 year old woman. Her request to Raudot in 1707 had been fruitless, and the answer of the minister, as evidenced by the marginal notes of the résumé of her letter of 1708, was not very encouraging. Nevertheless, nine years later, only a few months before her death, she was again petitioning

the home government to have her seigniory restored to her. The date of the appeal is significant. After the death of Louis XIV, the French colonies were governed by the Conseil de la Marine. Miss de Roybon probably thought that she would have better success with the new administrators than she had had with Pontchartrain.

In her petition to the Council she repeated what she had said a decade earlier in that addressed to Raudot. More than forty years ago she had come to Canada, and "because of a loan of about 2000 livres" to La Salle, he had granted her a tract of land near Fort Frontenac. She enumerated her losses at the time of the Iroquois raids. She complained that when peace was signed in 1701, she was prevented from returning, as were "all the other settlers of this place [Fort Frontenac] under the pretext that the [monopoly of] trade at this fort and at the fort on the Strait of Lake Erie [Detroit] had been given to the Company of Canada." It was this refusal that determined her to go to France in 1706, she averred. She came back with a letter of Pontchartrain for Vaudreuil, which allowed her to return to her seigniory on the same conditions as before. "This letter produced no results; she has always been prevented from going to her property, under the pretext that the commerce at that place was carried on for the benefit of the king." The last paragraph of the petition to the Council adds a few items to what was already known. After asking that she and the other settlers be allowed to return to Fort Frontenac and be allowed to trade with the Indians, "if the Council does not see fit to grant her petition, she begged them to retrieve her from the beggary in which she has been for so many years." From her last wills, it would appear that Miss de Roybon somewhat exaggerated her financial distress. "She is of noble birth [demoiselle]. She had brought enough money to Canada to live according to her social status [qualité], if they had let her enjoy the use of her establishment which cost her so much hardship and so hard a captivity," that is, among the Iroquois in 1687. (Archives de la Marine, B 1, 19:309-312; AC, C 11A, 37:143.)

Her letter to the Council is dated April 9, 1717. If it left Canada sometime during the fall, it reached Paris at the end of the year. The same note is found in the margin of the two résumés of her petition quoted above: "Let her appeal to M. de Vaudreuil." The Council had not been more considerate than Pontchartrain. But Miss de Roybon never knew this answer, for when it reached Canada in the summer of 1718, she had been dead several months.

J. D.

Book Reviews

The Way Forward. The American Trade Agreements Program. By Francis Bowes Sayre. Macmillan Company, New York, 1939. Pp. 230.

Mr. Sayre was assistant secretary of state and chairman of the Government Executive Committee on Commercial Policy. For several years he has been making addresses in various parts of the country setting forth the nature and the significance of the trade agreements program. This book contains some of the addresses, fashioned into a connected whole, and as he says, stating simply and concisely the reasons for the adoption of the trade agreements program, its nature and its purposes, the method by which it is carried out, how it touches the people of our country, and the results thus far achieved.

One of the consequences of the last war, greatly intensified by the depression was what Pope Pius XI called "exaggerated nationalism." There was ample ground for this reversion to the tribal stage of historical development. Nations that depended upon foreign countries for much of their war materials and subsistence commodities were in a precarious position. They became debtor nations and in so far the integrity of their sovereignty was impaired. But aside from notions of sovereignty they became dependent nations in a way that affected their whole national life. If they could not sell the surplus they produced they could not buy the goods they needed and their standard of living would decline. In most of the debtor nations the standard of living did decline. It became a matter of immediate urgency to reorganize their social structure and this they proceeded to do on an intensive and exclusive scale. Internal resources were developed in some cases with astonishing results. Italy, for example, was able to produce wheat crops large enough to support her population, something which she had not been able to do since the wars of Hannibal. The work was laborious and not conducive to the development or maintenance of friendly relations with countries that forced a nation to produce what it might more cheaply have bought had it not been prevented from selling by unreasonably high tariff obstruction. Driven to rely on their own resources, developing dislike, mistrust, and the inevitable hatred that is now prevalent in Europe and spreading over seas, intense and savage nationalism was the deplorable consequence.

It was this that the United States had to face when developing a commercial policy in 1933. Should the United States follow the crippled nations of Europe and be carried along on the current of economic nationalism, or for the sake of peace and rational living

adopt a policy of liberalized trade? The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act had accepted the first alternative, and the economic consequences were disastrous. The American export surplus market was rapidly disappearing. To regain it trade barriers must be lowered at home and abroad. The only way in which this could be accomplished was by international agreement.

On June 12, 1934, the Trade Agreements Act was signed by President Roosevelt. "Under the new law," says Mr. Sayre, "the way was open for the United States to help significantly in effectively opposing the growing economic policies of conflict and struggle which were threatening to engulf the world, and in building sound economic foundations for peace." It might mean saving the world from economic chaos and destruction. The basic idea of the Act is that with the growing menace of economic nationalism American foreign trade must be protected and increased through international agreement. The Act authorizes the President to enter into executive agreements for the reciprocal reduction of excessive trade barriers, and to make such tariff adjustments within prescribed limits as are required or appropriate to carry out such agreements. A limitation is found in the first section of the statute where it is provided that "no proclamation shall be made increasing or decreasing by more than 50 per centum any existing rate of duty." There is also a restriction which forbids transferring any article between the dutiable and free lists. In the Act the Congress directed the President to continue the traditional policy of the United States to treat all nations alike, that is to continue its established policy of the unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. The duration of the power conferred on the President has been by a later Act extended to June 12, 1940, and limits the President to the making of such agreements as can be readily terminated after a comparatively short fixed period. Before making an agreement the Act requires opportunity to be heard and interdepartmental consultation.

Up to April 1, 1939 trade agreements had been concluded with nineteen countries. These nineteen countries account for approximately 60 per cent of our total foreign trade. The agreements with the United Kingdom and Canada alone cover more than 3,000 tariff items on which concessions were granted and obtained. During the trade decline of 1938 both our exports and our total foreign trade with the agreement group of countries declined relatively less than our exports and our total trade with the nonagreement group. International cooperation was making some headway before the crash came on September 1. Mr. Sayre finished his book before that fateful day. Knowing now the condition of the world the following paragraph is impressive:

"Conquest cannot furnish a solution of the problem of foreign markets. Under twentieth century conditions there can be no economic

victor in a great war. Each side alike suffers the wiping out on a colossal scale of its most productive man power, of its savings and its capital, of its normal trade. The future of each is crippled and hampered by debt. The more complete the destruction of enemy territory, the more complete is the destruction of future markets and purchasing power. Even were additional foreign markets won, the cost of the struggle lowers the victor's standard of living far below any possible gain through enlarged markets."

Mr. Sayre has written an able defense of the Trade Agreements Act. We hope, as he assuredly does, that when the present conflict ends this Act or one similar to it, may lead the nations away from economic conflict. For "it builds the kind of economic foundations upon which alone human progress and lasting world peace can rest."

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

Loyola University

Our Land and Our Lady. By Daniel Sargent, Longmans, New York, 1939. Pp. 263.

For several generations now, beginning notably with John Gilmary Shea in the 1850's, Catholic writers have been devoting a good deal of careful and intelligent work to the history of Catholicism in the United States. When they began their task, the writing of history had already become what is called scientific. A technique had been established, in which the historian's major concern was with authorities, with the substantiation of details of fact through "sources," and with lavish support of statements by citation of authorities and "sources." The value of this approach to historical writing cannot be questioned. But it is obviously true also that the value of any historical method can never rise above the level of the men who use it. The partisan writer can be just as impressive in his apparatus of research and citation as the unbiased writer; and both of them, for all their observance of the niceties of method, can be, and at times are, most unimaginatively dull. It is still necessary to have a good historian before one can have good history.

Moreover, scientific history, besides being capable of such absurd distortions as those of the Whig school, had a little tendency to be high-brow. It too often seemed to be written by experts for experts, with a lofty disregard for the common or garden reader. Still another difficulty about scientific history is that it tends to be a piecemeal affair, an intensive digging into a small area of facts. That again is not to decry the value of laborious digging into details; but only to point out its limitations. To balance the detailed analysis, we need an historical synthesis, based though this must be upon the material supplied by the patient diggers.

In due time, the need for wider assemblages of historical data was appreciated, as well as the need for a more humane presentation of

the results achieved by historical research. Even the specialists began to suspect, what the general run of educated men had always known, that the footnote and the bibliography were not the beginning and the end of historical writing. Not all students of history curse the magnificent Belloc, who resolutely disdains citation of authorities, and who values the linked significance of facts more than contention over microscopic details of fact. There have been some very competent efforts by other writers than Mr. Belloc to make this comprehensive approach to history. Amongst the most brilliant of such efforts is this new book by Daniel Sargent.

Our Land and Our Lady deals with the impact of the Catholic religion, and particularly of the cultus of our Lady, upon the regions that now make up the United States. Even on the strictest technical assessment, Mr. Sargent is well equipped to look back over our years since the coming of Columbus in the *Santa Maria,* and to note the succession of facts that link our most important developments with the Catholic religion. But what makes this book distinctive above other sketches of Catholic history in the United States is that Mr. Sargent, in addition to being a trained historian, is a poet; which means that he has an eye for more than the bare facts, for the truth and even the emotion behind the facts. So he sees the shadow of our Lady cast over this land that many think now so remote from her. He sees her name, and a sense of what she stands for in the religion of her Son, shining out across the long chain of incidents that history fumblingly records as stages in our story.

He selects and recounts the incidents accurately, with the security of one familiar with a thousand more details omitted, and always with a searching glance for their underlying meaning. Conquistador and explorer, missionary and geographer, soldier and even trader, dotted our land with the name of Mary: from Our Lady of Holy Hope in Maine to Our Lady of the Angels in California, through Ville-Marie de Montreal, Sault Sainte Marie, and scores of streams, villages, counties, and schools, called Saint Mary's. He ties together these many Saint Mary's. He lets the reader see why Chesapeake Bay was once the Bay of the Mother of God, and the Mississippi the River of the Immaculate Conception; and why it was that when our land, which had got its earliest and its most vital culture from Catholic missionaries, in turn sent missionaries to foreign lands, the missionaries went from Maryknoll.

Along the thread of our Lady's inspiration, Mr. Sargent has strung a swift but adequate survey of the manifold Catholic influences affecting the people of the United States, from the beginning until now. In his hands, it is a warm and living history, written with tenderness, with intense yet restrained feeling, and with a sense of relative values most refreshing amidst the confused and despairing gropings of our post-Christian world. It is also history written in a

nervous, masculine prose not always at the command of our Catholic historians. Such a vivid synthesis of Catholic history in the United States supplements and interprets our growing body of research studies. It should be of immense value to all who have studied, no matter how eruditely, the isolated details that go to make up the glory and the regret of our past in the United States.

W. KANE

Loyola University

A Journal of Reparations. By Charles G. Dawes, Macmillan Company, London, 1939. Pp. xxxv+527.

It would seem that the principal lasting value of this work will be to show posterity that for a long time after 1919 sensible and otherwise fair-minded businessmen, among the Allies, clung to a belief that the Versailles Treaty might be made to work.

In November 1923 the Reparation Commission which had functioned since the end of the World War for the purpose of handling German payments of war indemnities became convinced of the absolute economic chaos in the Reich. Thereupon, it decided to call the First Committee of Experts from the countries who had been allies in the war, for the purpose of considering "the means of balancing the budget and measures to be taken to stabilize the currency" in Germany. General Charles G. Dawes was chosen chairman of the First Committee of Experts, and this book is the result of editing a journal which he kept during the sessions of the committee. To the journal he has added three appendices; namely, an extract from the address of Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State, before the American Historical Association at New Haven, Connecticut, on December 29, 1922, in which he recommended the appointment of such a Committee of Experts; secondly, a number of letters and telegrams relative to the work of the Experts Committee; and thirdly, the official report of the Experts Committee as submitted to the Reparations Commission. These appendices constitute more than half of the book and make available, in handy form, some source material which the future historian may be glad to have when he comes to write the full story of Germany in the twentieth century.

The journal itself, through the contemporaneous work of one who was in a supremely important position to reveal how the "Dawes Plan" came into existence, is unsatisfactory maily because it studiously omits any reference to the disagreements among the members. While the reader senses that such conflict was often there, General Dawes blocks it out, leaving one with the sensation that the picture he paints is incomplete.

The thought repeating itself to the mind of the reviewer as he read the work has been put in the opening sentence of this review. Here were a group of eminent businessmen, professing to undertake

their work with the attitude that "nothing is more important at the inception of important work than humbleness of opinion. If one does not have it, he can never be sure that he has all the facts, much less the proper sense of their relative importance" (p. 6). Yet despite the ruin of Germany by the Versailles Treaty they were determined to make her pay reparations to the full. They did not realize the impasse which confronted them. French critics, at the time, spoke truly when they said: "If Germany be made strong enough to pay she will be strong enough to refuse to pay" (p. 73). The blind trust of the Committee in the workableness of the Versailles Treaty can be accounted for only by realizing that six years after the war men did not think as clearly about it as we do today.

How the plan had to be changed after five years; and how, during that time, Adolf Hitler, taking advantage of conditions in Germany, rose upon the injured sentiment of the German people to a position which made him dictator by 1932, is not commented upon in the book. However, it is history rather contradictory to the complimentary letters and telegrams quoted in the second appendix as praising the "Dawes Plan."

R. N. HAMILTON

Graduate School, Marquette University

The Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. By Francis H. Hammang. Docteur en Sciences Historiques. *Part I. New France and the English Colonies.* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2e série.- 47e fascicule). Bruges, 1938. Pp. 218.

The purpose of this Louvain doctoral thesis, says the author in the introduction, is "to throw new light on Vaudreuil's person and career, to give a new appreciation of some of the chief events which took place during his governorship and consider certain factors which have thus far been neglected or insufficiently emphasized by earlier writers." Owing to the length of Vaudreuil's administration, twenty-seven years, owing to the vast territory over which he ruled, and also to the complexity of the problems which confronted the governor, Dr. Hammang has limited his thesis to the years preceding the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). The subtitle of this first part partially indicates the contents; external affairs are mainly dealt with. The conflict between New France and the English colonies is treated in detail. "The question of the West because of its proportions, its involved character and its many ramifications will be the subject of a later volume." Those who are interested in the history of the West during Vaudreuil's governorship hope that Dr. Hammang will not delay too long in issuing his second volume. If we may judge from the quality of the first volume, the author will deal very competently with this

other phase of history which had its center in the Great Lakes area.

The first chapter is, in the reviewer's opinion, one of the best summaries in print of the colonial administration under Jerome Pontchartrain. The evolution of the administrative system is clearly set forth. Authoritative monographs on the subject form the basis of this section. The system is summed up as being "an odd mixture of paternalism and cold official formalism, of incessant meddling and gross neglect, of great concern over a detail of little importance and an apparent disregard for a vital matter on which depended a whole continent." That part of the first chapter which shows how colonial dispatches were handled when they reached Paris is especially noteworthy. Although prudently modified by an adverb, one might perhaps take exception to the following statement as too general: "In nearly all cases, the official dispatches from Canada were controlled by various other letters sent by other persons in the colony. Very often they were checked with former letters or memorials." To compensate for this generalization there is another statement, which those who have studied the correspondence directly instead of in badly edited or truncated texts or in spurious translations, will heartily endorse. From an examination of the evidence, Dr. Hammang shows that "writers have often attributed to the minister or king what was obviously the routine work of a clerk." The author, however, seems to depart momentarily from his customary exactness when he attributes to La Touche comments of Champigny. The annotation on the letter of August 31, 1703: "J'ay repondu a tout cela en repondant a la lettre que le Sr de la Motte a escrit a Monseigneur," was written by the former intendant. Cadillac having sent his lucubrations to Pontchartrain, an abstract of these was forwarded to Champigny for comment; and the latter felt it was a waste of time to comment once more on the fancies which the commandant of Detroit had written to La Touche by the same mail. In this letter, Cadillac merely repeats what he had written to Pontchartrain with still further misrepresentations—not to use a harsher but more adequate term—thrown in for good measure.

While this thesis was being published in Belgium, M. P.-G. Roy was issuing at Lévis *La Famille de Rigaud Vaudreuil.* The sketch of the career of the governor of Canada in Dr. Hammang's thesis, chapter two, and that of M. Roy are complimentary in many respects. What stands out is that Vaudreuil, like everybody in authority in New France, was criticized by self-appointed censors, armchair generals, and statesmen. A few of those disgruntled individuals are listed. Ramezay who seems to have enjoyed complaining; the hypocondriac Ruette d'Auteuil; and the most notoriously quarrelsome of them all, Cadillac. The latter especially was congenitally incapable of living in peace with anybody. He was never so happy as when he had the whole colony, officialdom from top to bottom, against him. He always

came out on top, always got the better of everybody, thanks, he is reported to have said, "to my towering genius." Cadillac seems to have had no misgivings about his own worth.

With regard to the internal situation in the colony, the reader is reminded that the first years of Vaudreuil's administration coincided with one of the most critical periods in the history of France, with the war of the Spanish Succession. Little succor or merchandise could be sent to Canada by the mother country, and, as a result, some progress was made in small industries in Canada. In this way, the war, in some fashion, helped the colony.

The fur trade question is only lightly touched upon. The state of affairs bringing about the edict of 1696 should have been given a less cursory treatment; all the more since the fur trade played one of the most important roles in the history of New France. "For many reasons furs, more particularly beaver pelts, were intimately bound up with the colony's very existence." But perhaps a fuller treatment will find its place in the second volume when the question of the West is dealt with. In the meantime, there is a clear statement of what the "ferme" institution was, and a lucid exposition of the negotiations leading to the transfer of the trade monopoly to what became known as the Compagnie de la Colonie. In 1703, when he took office, Vaudreuil was facing a critical situation. Canada was thrown upon its own resources, the fur trade was practically ruined, "its financial system—or what passed for a system—was disorganized; and its military strength greatly weakened by lack of recruits and supplies, and the discontent which existed among the Indian allies."

In the last three chapters, the relations between New France and the English colonies, New England and New York, are examined in great detail, and an inquiry is made into the causes of, and the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities in the summer of 1703. The alliance with the Indians was an absolute necessity; without them, owing to the weakness of the French forces, the colony would have found it difficult to preserve itself. It was imperative to prevent the Indians from passing over to the English. "The most efficacious means of keeping them faithful, however, was a flourishing fur trade. Presents, mutual enemies, old alliances, religion, and diplomacy sided only to a certain extent." As a matter of fact, the only remedy to an evil almost as old as the colony itself, would have been to meet the price the English paid for the pelts. Lahontan wrote about this time: "They [Indians] say, we are great Cheats in selling them bad Wares four times dearer than they are worth, by way of Exchange for their Beaver-skins." The Indians were not so foolish as to fail to realize that they were paid for their pelts at Albany three or four times the price paid at Montreal. Instead of meeting the English prices, the French had recourse to all sorts of palliatives which rendered their Indian alliance very precarious.

During the first part of Vaudreuil's administration, the governor without giving evidence of extraordinary ability, always had the situation well in hand; and, concludes Dr. Hammang, "He must be credited with having brought the colony safety through a difficult period." The book has a bibliography, a detailed table of contents, but no index.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. **The Mission Era, Volume IV:** *The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782.* By Carlos E. Castañeda. Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, Austin, Texas, 1939. Pp. 409. Maps and Illustrations.

In this fourth volume of the history of Texas, written with the view to bring out the Catholic contributions to the development of the great southern state, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda presents the completed picture of Texas frontier life prior to the secularization of the missions. In a fluent style he portrays the political, economic, social, Indian, and international affairs from the eve of the transfer of vast lands west of the Mississippi from French to Spanish control in 1762 down to the early seventeen-eighties when Spain allowed the mission systems to lapse. The scope of the present volume, in other words, is a final estimate of the value of the missions and a survey of the causes which brought about their passing. Dr. Castañeda has succeeded well in reaching the objectives of his work. By prefacing the volume and the individual chapters with running accounts of preceding events he has enhanced the interest of his findings for the general reader, while his utilization and coordination of monographs and research articles, and his lengthy bibliography, will prove a great aid to students.

Conditions in Texas, a frontier province of New Spain, were anything but heartening prior to 1762. Encroachments of the French and English demanded that Spain not only protect but extend her domain from the center at San Antonio toward the Gulf and toward the Mississippi. Wild tribes of the north and west, prominent among which were the Comanches and Apaches, had somehow to be held at bay. The French pressure was somewhat relieved by the cession of 1762. The Indian and English menace remained. Spain used the missionary and military occupation as a means to settle Texas originally, and the policy was continued, missions and presidios being placed in different directions as spearheads of the Spanish advance. There were twenty-one flourishing missions and seven presidios holding together the entire land of Texas in 1762. The 'in-between' places and all the fringe of Texas called for more of each. The narrative tells of the attempts to apply the policy beginning with the occupation of the Trinity River. The third chapter recounts Parrilla's foolhardy puni-

tive expedition against the united tribes of the north and the ultimate abandonment of the Apaches to their thieving ways and stubborn savagery. Follows a description of the foundation of the Cañón Missions, and plans for the reorganization of the frontier, while the last four chapters deal with the retirement of the Querétaran friars from Texas, the abandonment of East Texas by Spain, the beginnings of present Nacogdoches, and the opening moves toward the secularization of San Antonio. The volume is replete with details of legalities, officials, and officialdom.

The mission systems according to the author were in no sense a failure, for they served admirably as a frontier institution for the spread of civilization and religion, for protection against raiding tribesmen, and for food supplies. Moreover, they are monuments of the unselfish zeal of the missionaries, and milestones in the history of the state.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Catholic Library Problems. By W. Kane, S. J. Loyola University Library, Chicago, 1939. Pp. xiv+214.

Within a single life-time, library work, particularly here in the United States, has undergone an enormous change. Now, library science has become formidable and has filled the library with a complexity of techniques calculated to baffle, or even to oppress and terrify, not only the poor layman, but even a good many practicing librarians. It should bring comfort to all these people to know that one small book, *Catholic Library Problems,* has managed to pierce this modern mystery of library work. In order to explore the specific problems of a specific kind of library, the author has had to clear away a pretty thick fog of mumbo-jumbo about library work in general. The words he uses are words we all know; his facts are accurate and undistorted; he thinks straight and talks straight. When one has finished this very readable book, one can say: "Well, now I know what actually are the problems of a Catholic library."

The approach of this book to Catholic library problems is both historical and analytical. Although it does not pretend to be a complete record of the development of Catholic libraries in the United States, it probably contains more of their history than any other book published. As history alone, it merits attention. Compactly, and with refreshing realism, the author sketches the origins and growth of Catholic libraries, the gradual evolving of library methods, and the inter-relations of the library with school education. Against a background of history that in itself does much to reveal the difficulties of Catholic library work, he takes up in detail the problems of organizing and administering a Catholic school library, problems of purpose and personnel, of library routines, of the librarian's authority

and functions. In all this he is practical. His chapter on the problems of book selection, as viewed from the standpoint of Catholic principles, offers more guidance than a score of imposing 'book lists' or the sometimes dogmatic prescriptions of educational associations.

The problems of classifying and cataloguing books are dealt with so simply and clearly that the result is to rob them of their bewildering vagueness. And when the vagueness has been stripped away, the problems shrink amazingly. Much the same may be said about many problems of direct reader service. They are problems created outside of Catholic school libraries; if they begin to trouble us now, it is only because we drag them inside. Still, the author does not claim to solve all the problems he presents. He does not volunteer, as so many others do, to do the thinking for the reader. But he stimulates the reader to do his own thinking, and he gives him solid and interesting data to think about. Yet he is frank in recognizing that some problems, for example, that of defining the aims and character of Catholic school libraries, and the problem of training Catholic librarians, are generally not even in the hands of the librarians, and are subject to the uncertainties which nowadays affect so much of Catholic education in the United States.

The book is well printed and bound, and has an adequate index.

JOHN T. MORTELL

Recent Books

by

Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D.

SOME LA SALLE JOURNEYS, $2.25

JOURNAL OF JEAN CAVELIER, $2.50

FRONTENAC AND THE JESUITS, $3.20

(To make these excellent works more available reductions in price are made to libraries and teachers.)

◈

Scholarly research, bringing new viewpoints and new findings, these books are necessary for all students of American History and interesting to all readers.

◈

Published by

THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

6525 SHERIDAN ROAD · CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Subscribe to

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Quarterly

50c a copy. $2.00 by the year. $2.50 a year in foreign countries.
Back numbers and volumes are available.

SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION OR REQUESTS TO

MID-AMERICA, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Chicago

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

✦

THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

LAKE SHORE CAMPUS
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
HOME STUDY

✦

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

MEDICINE
LAW
DENTISTRY
SOCIAL WORK
COMMERCE
NURSING

SAINT BERNARD'S HOSPITAL UNIT
OAK PARK HOSPITAL UNIT
SAINT ANNE'S HOSPITAL UNIT
SAINT ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL UNIT
COLUMBUS HOSPITAL UNIT
SAINT FRANCIS HOSPITAL UNIT

✦

THE SUMMER SESSION

✦

THE AFFILIATED HIGH SCHOOLS

SAINT IGNATIUS HIGH SCHOOL
LOYOLA ACADEMY

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

APRIL 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

JEAN GARNIER, LIBRARIAN . . . . . *W. Kane* 75

PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN ST. LOUIS, 1809-1821 . . . . . *John Francis McDermott* 96

THE JESUIT MISSIONARY IN THE RÔLE OF PHYSICIAN . . . . . *Theodore E. Treutlein* 120

NOTES AND COMMENT 142

BOOK REVIEWS 146

BENES, *Democracy Today and Tomorrow;* MADARIAGA, *Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón;* LOCKMILLER, *Sir William Blackstone;* FITZGERALD, *Beacon on the Plains;* MORRIS (ED.), *The Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene;* SHOTWELL, *What Germany Forgot.*

MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
PAUL J. FOIK
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

Printed by
LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

APRIL 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 2

Jean Garnier, Librarian

PART I

The history of libraries, like all other history, tantalizes us by its gaps and inconsequences. We have not enough facts as to what really was the content, the organization, and the use, of earlier libraries; and sometimes we do not grasp the meaning and the interrelations of even the facts we do possess. That is why we must keep trying to clear up a dark corner here and there in that obscure past, upon whose achievements our present libraries are built.

In the United States, interest in the development of libraries and library techniques has been pretty much confined to their very recent history. There are, perhaps, as many librarians who think that library techniques began with Melvil Dewey as there are teachers who think that educational theories began with John Dewey. For those who have a more humane sense of the length and continuity of library history, the work of Jean Garnier as one of the pioneers in modern library classification has value and interest enough to justify this brief monograph about him. Moreover, since Garnier was a Jesuit, the Jesuits and their friends may see an added fitness in recalling his contribution to library techniques in this year which marks the fourth centenary of the founding of the Society of Jesus.

Jean Garnier was born in Paris, on November 11, 1612; entered the Society of Jesus at Rouen, October 15, 1628; went through the usual studies of the Jesuits; taught the humanities for five years, then what was called "rhetoric," which meant primarily literature, but with a considerable inclusion of history and kindred subjects, then philosophy, on which he wrote some textbooks; and finally settled down in 1653, when he was forty-one years old, to the major work of his lifetime, at the Jesuit College of Clermont in Paris.

From 1653 to 1679, except for a stay of some undetermined time at Bourges, Garnier taught theology in the College, the kind of theology that is called "positive" as distinguished from the more formal "scholastic" theology.[1] Positive theology is expository, not controversial, concerned with the unfolding of supernatural truths through the scriptures and tradition, historical rather than argumentative in its approach to revealed truths. The humanistic spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to exalt positive theology above scholastic theology.

Whatever be the differences in qualifications between a positive theologian and a scholastic theologian, admittedly a delicate question, it seems to be a fact that, amongst the French Jesuits, the more scholarly men were set to teach positive theology. Garnier, in his own lifetime and since, has ranked high amongst such scholars. They were men who needed a good library; and in the College of Clermont they had a good library. It is also a fact that Garnier had something to do with making that library a good library, because he was its librarian, at least from 1674 to his death in 1681.

When Garnier had been fifty years a Jesuit, and four or more

[1] Nothing like a full biography of Garnier has ever been published. There are a number of brief notices of him, as in Baillet, Sommervogel, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale,* Larousse, etc., which seem to be based chiefly upon a sketch by the Jesuit François Oudin for that pretentious and not too reliable work of the Barnabite, Jean Pierre Niceron (1685-1738), entitled *Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres dans la République des Lettres: avec un Catalogue Raisonné de leurs Ouvrages,* published in forty-three volumes, Paris, 1727-1740. Thirty-nine volumes had appeared by 1738, when Niceron died, but he had gathered the material for the fortieth volume, in which is the notice about Garnier, pp. 166-179. Oudin had written seven articles on Jesuits, appearing in volumes 34-40, and with Jean Baptiste Michault and the Abbe Goujet edited volumes 41-43 of the *Mémoires,* after Niceron's death. Oudin's article is the source of some confusion about dates in Garnier's life. Oudin, a Burgundian, born at Vignory, Haute-Marne, in 1673, became a Jesuit ten years after Garnier had died; he lived, not in Paris, but in Lorraine and Burgundy, and died at Dijon in 1752. He wrote his sketch of Garnier nearly sixty years after Garnier's death. He is the authority for the statement, repeated by others after him, that Garnier taught theology in the College of Clermont for twenty-six years, that is, from 1653 to 1679; *Mémoires,* 40:166. He evidently did not know of Garnier's living at Bourges for part of that time, possibly for as long as four or five years. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus,* 3:1228, 5, and 1231-1232, indicates that Garnier published a book at Bourges in 1655, *Regulae Fidei Catholicae de Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum,* and that he was censured by the Archbishop of Bourges, de Ventadour, in 1659, for some of his views on the ecclesiastical rights over property, expressed by him as "Professeur des cas de conscience en la même ville." This ignorance on the part of Oudin tends to lessen one's confidence in his accuracy about the date at which Garnier became librarian of the College of Clermont, as will be mentioned later.

years librarian in the College of Clermont, he published, in 1678, a little book about the library, entitled *Systema Bibliothecae Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu.* It is a quarto of 118 pages, nicely printed by Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy.[2] It has seven parts: the first part, pages 3 to 14, a summary account of the library, its history, housing, and organization; the other six parts, what he calls "Catalogues" of the library, really the outlines of his scheme of classification.

The historical account is meagre, just barely referring to events that may have been clear enough to his immediate readers, but that now need a somewhat ampler mention. As a background for Garnier's task in classifying the books in the library, we must enlarge a trifle upon his account of the College and its library. This will make up most of the first section of the present monograph. The second section will deal directly with Garnier's classification.

The College of Clermont

The College of Clermont took its origin and its title from the gift made to the Jesuits of Paris by Guillaume Duprat, Bishop of Clermont, who had been appointed Bishop of Clermont in 1529, when he was only twenty-two years old.[3] He was a good bishop, looked after his diocese, and took a leading part in the last session of the Council of Trent. As soon as the Jesuits began to work in France, Duprat became one of their patrons, defended them against the opposition of the Sorbonne and the *Parlements,* put them in charge of colleges in his own diocese, at Billom and Mauriac, and in 1550 turned over to them his residence in Paris, the Hôtel de Clermont.[4]

---

[2] The *Systema* has been twice reprinted: in Joannis Davidis Koeleri, *Sylloge Aliquot Scriptorum de bene Ordinanda et Ornanda Bibliotheca,* Francofurti, 1728; and in *Serapeum,* XI (1850), Intelligenzbl, 105-110, 113, 121-126, 129-133, 137, 140.

[3] His father, Antoine Duprat, had once been the prime minister of Francis I; then, as a widower had been ordained priest in 1517, and later became Archbishop of Sens. In 1527, he was made a cardinal, and in 1530, Legate *a Latere* of the Medici Pope, Clement VII.

[4] There seems to be only one formal history of the College of Clermont: *Histoire du Collége Louis-le-Grand, ancien Collége des Jésuites a Paris, depuis sa Fondation jusqu'en 1830,* par G. Emond, Censeur émerité des Études au Collége Louis-le-Grand, Durand, Loisel, Paris, 1845. J. M. Prat, S. J., *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris,* Paris, 1856, 77, note 1, expresses a poor opinion of Emond's history. But of unpublished MSS about the College there is a great store. Pierre Bliard, S. J., in vol. XI, *histoire'* of Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus,* fills thirty columns (921-951) with a check-list of items dealing with the history of the College, chiefly unpublished MSS, of which the greater number are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. For excerpts from the will of Bishop Duprat, see

The Jesuits in Paris were so closely associated in the minds of the people with this house that for a long time they were known simply as "the Clerics of the Hôtel Clermont." They used it at first as a residence for their own students; and only in 1564 began public classes.[5] They began in the face of severe opposition. The *Parlement* of Paris and the University, with the famous Étienne Pasquier leading the plea, brought suit to enjoin them from teaching.[6] An indecisive settlement of April 5, 1565, allowed the Jesuits to go ahead with their College, which then enjoyed a steady and strong growth for thirty years, in spite of the troublous times.

The College seems to have kept clear of the intrigues that surrounded the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572; but it was not so fortunate during the long controversies about the succession of Henry IV. When, in 1584, the young King of Navarre, a Huguenot, became heir-presumptive to the throne of France, many of the Jesuits made themselves noted amongst his opponents, out of loyalty to Pope Sixtus V, who excommunicated Henry and theoretically deposed him as King of Navarre, rather than out of hostility to Henry himself. But the opposition to Henry, ostensibly religious in its motives, was not stilled by his conversion to Catholicism in 1593. More than a year later, December 27, 1594, Jean Chastel, who had been a student in the College of Clermont, but who was then a law student in the University of Paris, tried to assassinate the King. Several of the Jesuits were accused of inciting Chastel, particularly François Gueret and Jean Guignard. The latter, who was librarian of the College, was

---

C. E. Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis,* 6 vols., Paris, 1665-1673, VI, 576. For the two Duprats, see J. Duprat, *Vie d'Antoine Duprat,* Paris, 1857.

[5] The original Hôtel de Clermont, in the Rue de la Harpe, provided quarters for twelve young Jesuits, who were studying at the Sorbonne, and for six secular students. For the maintenance of all these, Bishop Duprat set up an endowment, Prat, *Maldonat et l'Université de Paris,* 25 sqq., 624. In 1562, the Jesuits, with some of the funds willed them by Duprat, who had died in 1560, bought the former hôtel of Bishop de Latour of Langres, in the Rue Saint-Jacques, Emond, *Histoire du Collége,* 10. This building became the nucleus of their main college buildings.

[6] One of the important sources of contention was the Jesuits' refusal to charge tuition fees. See Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Paris.,* VI, 916. It was the policy of the Society from the beginning to secure an endowment for their colleges as a condition of opening a college, and not to depend upon tuition fees. Even when, as was most frequently the case, the endowment was inadquate, they eked out by begging, not by exacting fees. This policy has been changed only in recent times. For the almost continual opposition of the University and the *Parlement* of Paris to the Jesuits, see Prat, *Maldonat,* 27, 44, 82-102, 103-144 (Pasquier's attack), 190-200, 349-410, 433-438, 467-470; although these accounts cover only the period 1550-1580.

found in possession of subversive writings, was tried and found guilty of *lèse majesté,* and was hanged, January 7, 1595. Guignard was probably the only Jesuit librarian ever hanged for his crimes; the rest of them get off with lighter sentences.[7]

The College of Clermont was closed, and the Jesuits were exiled. But it was Henry IV himself who recalled them nine years later, and who showed them many favors, and even founded for them the College of La Flèche. Once more the College of Clermont began to thrive.[8] Within ten years after it reopened its classes, the College had about 1,800 students. Fifty years later, when Garnier published his book on the College library, there were 3,000 students, of whom 550 were boarders.[9] After 1683, the name of the College was changed to that of Louis-le-Grand, and was so known when Voltaire was a student there.[10] The College continued in the hands of the Jesuits until their suppression in France in 1762, when in a fumbling way it was turned over to the sadly diminished University of Paris.[11] After the restoration of the Jesuits in 1814, they again had charge of the College for a time, although with very uncertain tenure and control; but naturally lost it when the Government expelled them in 1880. A few years later, the original buildings of the College were razed to the ground, and a new *lycée* built upon the site.[12]

---

[7] For the affair of Guignard, see the account by Joseph de Jouvancy, a contemporary Jesuit, in *Historiae Societatis Jesu Pars Quinta,* Rome, 1710, 40-81. See also J. M. Prat, S. J., *Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur la Compagnie de Jésus en France au Temps du P. Coton, 1564-1626,* 5 vols., Lyons, 1876-1878, I, 183-193; and V, 51-68 (the "Rélation du P. de Mena," written at Bordeaux, 1603).

[8] Although Henry IV gave back the College buildings to the Jesuits, April 29, 1604, and even wished to put the Jesuits in charge of the King's Library, which had been housed in the College since the exile of the Jesuits in 1595, the opposition of the University at first, and later the turmoil caused by the assassination of Henry in 1610, kept the Jesuits from being able to resume classes in the College until February 20, 1618, under the special favor of Louis XIII. See Prat, *Recherches Historiques,* II, 339-345; III, 319-332, 772-785.

[9] Thomas Hughes, S. J., *Loyola,* New York, 1892, 72.

[10] Louis XIV (le Grand), about 1677, gave the College the income of an abbey, amounting to 9,000 or 10,000 livres a year. Shortly after, he gave 53,000 livres for the purchase of a building which the College badly needed. He claimed the title of Founder, and ordered the inscription to be put over the main door *"Collegium Ludovici Magni."* See the letter of Père de la Chaise, January 6, 1683, in Prat, *Maldonat,* 624-625. For Voltaire's account of his seven years at the College of Clermont (1704-1711, from his tenth to his seventeenth year), see his *Oeuvres* (edition Garnier), vol. 33, 1-9.

[11] Alfred Franklin, "La Bibliothèque du Collége Louis-le-Grand," in Techener's *Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire,* Paris, 1865, vol. 31, 389.

[12] For an account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from France and the destruction of their Collége Louis-le-Grand, see Joseph Burnichon, S. J., *La Compagnie en France: Histoire d'un Siècle, 1814-1914* (Only four vol-

The Library, Its Benefactors, Librarians

At the time of the first suppression of the College of Clermont, in 1595, the College library, housed in five rooms, numbered nearly twenty thousand volumes, and counted as a precious part of its book collection the famous library of Guillaume Budé, which had been given to the College in 1571 by Pierre de Saint André de Montbron.[13] When the Jesuits were exiled, the College library was in part destroyed, in part scattered.[14] But after their restoration in 1604, the Jesuits began again to build up their library. By the year in which Garnier wrote his account, the library had more than 32,000 volumes, made up very considerably of gifts.[15]

Garnier presents a brief list of the benefactors of the library during that second period. At the head of the list come the two kings, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Cardinal François Joyeuse donated all his manuscript codices.[16] In 1624, Charles Lallemant, the public prosecutor, who had three sons Jesuits and a Jesuit nephew, Gabriel Lallemant, now canonized as one of the North American Martyrs, left his entire library by will to the College. Dom Philippe Desportes, Abbot of Thiron, gave his theological library.[17] The mother of the Jesuit, François Dies, gave a large

---

umes published, covering the period 1814-1880.), Beauchesne, Paris, 1914-1922, II, 151; IV, 620-667.

[13] Louis Jacob, *Traité des plus belles Bibliothèques du Monde, etc.,* 2 vols. (with pagination continuous through both), Paris, 1644, II, 522-523. Jacob also recounts another large gift, the library of Hierosme de Varade, a noted physician, whose son (Claude) was rector of the College, *Ibid.,* 522. See also A. Franklin, "La Bibliothèque," *loc. cit.,* 375.

[14] For the looting of the College, and particularly of the library, see Prat, *Recherches Historiques . . . au Temps du P. Coton,* I, 190 sqq.

[15] Garnier crowds his sketch of the library, its benefactors and librarians, into pages 4-6 of his *Systema Bibliothecae, etc.* But others have written more at length about the library. Shortly after Fouquet's gift of a new library building, Claude Fleury, a Parisian lawyer, published a poem, *Bibliotheca Claromontana Patrum Societatis Jesu Carmine Descripta,* a quarto of 14 pages, Martin, Paris, 1661. Alfred Franklin, the bibliographer, wrote "La Bibliothèque du Collége Louis-le-Grand" in *Bulletin du Bibliophile,* 374-393. Émile Chatelain and Albert Maire published another account of the library in *Revue des Bibliothèques* (1891), I, 318-336. Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries; of Museums; and of Archives,* 2d ed., London, 1901, I, 84-90, has some data not included in those above.

[16] Joyeuse, born in 1562, was made Bishop of Narbonne and Cardinal at the age of twenty, later on Bishop of Toulouse, and in 1605 Archbishop of Rouen. He died in 1615. Louis Jacob, *Traité,* 523-524, says that Joyeuse had bought three libraries, one of which belonged to the scholarly Pierre Pithou. At his death he left the entire collection to be divided between the Jesuits of Pontoise and the College of Clermont.

[17] Desportes (1545-1606), a priest, and a poet of note, was given three abbeys *in commendam* by Henry III, one of which was Thiron. He was for a time opposed to Henry IV, but later became his protégé. For his gift to the library, see Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries,* I, 86.

and valuable collection of works on history; and the two Sebastien Cramoisys gave their own publications and many other books. But the greatest single benefactor was the famous Nicolas Fouquet.

Fouquet, vicomte of Melun and Vaux, marquis of Belle-Isle, who was born in 1615, was first the favorite, then the rival, of Mazarin; and from 1653 to 1661 was the powerful Superintendent of Finances. When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis XIV named himself as prime minister, set about destroying Fouquet, whose ambition he feared, and appointed Colbert in his place. Fouquet was arrested in September 1661, kept in prison without trial for more than three years, then sentenced to exile. But Louis increased the sentence to life imprisonment of a most severe kind, which was enforced until Fouquet's death in 1680. At some time during the height of his power, probably about 1655 or 1656, Fouquet, who was very wealthy (through his marriage to Marie Fourché of Quéhillac, his first wife, and perhaps through his peculations), gave many books to the library, added a new library building, and set up an endowment of a thousand livres a year.[18]

Next in importance to Fouquet amongst the benefactors of the library, Garnier names the Jesuit, Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651), who had been secretary to the general superior, Claude Aquaviva, for eighteen years, and had profited by his position to visit many libraries and collect books. He returned to France in 1608, and settled into a life of study and writing at the College of Clermont. In 1637, he became confessor to Louis XIII, and

[18] Philippe Labbé, S. J., dedicated to Fouquet his *Nova Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum Librorum,* 2 vols., fol., Paris, 1657, and in the dedicatory letter thanks him for his gifts to the library. But because Fouquet's fall came so soon after his gifts, it was dangerous for the Jesuits to publish any account or acknowledgment of his benefactions to them. Louis XIV was their friend; but he was a very jealous friend. Hence most of the references to Fouquet in the contemporary writings of the Jesuits are buried in domestic archives. Edwards, however, comments favorably, if somewhat patronizingly, on the prominence with which the Jesuits displayed in their library this inscription: "L'illustre Fouquet a élevé cette Bibliothèque, et l'a Doté avec Magnificence" *Memoirs of Libraries,* I, 86. A good account of his life is A. Cheruel, *Mémoires sur la Vie Publique et Privée de Fouquet,* 2 vols., Paris, 1864. Attempts have been made to identify Fouquet with "The Man in the Iron Mask," especially by Paul L. Jacob, *Histoire de l'Homme au Masque de Fer;* but the only connection between the two is that the mysterious prisoner in the mask served as Fouquet's valet for a while in the prison of Pignerolo. See *Recherches historiques et critiques sur l'Homme au Masque de Fer,* par Citoyen Roux (Fazillac), Valade, Paris, an. IX; and Arthur Stapleton Barnes, *The Man of the Mask,* London, 1912. The latter concludes that the Man of the Mask was the Abbé Pregnani, probably a Jesuit, whose crime was to have learned too much about political secrets.

was instrumental in turning the king's favor toward the College. He died in the College at the age of ninety-two.[19]

Garnier ends his first chapter with a brief mention of the Jesuits who had been librarians of the College of Clermont during the seventy-five years since its restoration by Henry IV. The first of these librarians, Fronton du Duc (1558-1624), lived in the College from the time when it was given back to the Jesuits, and after the resumption of classes in 1618, continued on as librarian until 1623. When Isaac Casaubon, the eminent Huguenot scholar, urged Henry IV to publish the manuscripts of the Royal Library, then housed in the College of Clermont, Fronton du Duc was assigned the task of editing the Greek Fathers of the Church.

---

[19] Jacob, *Traité,* 525-526, recounts the manner of one of Father Sirmond's benefactions. An unnamed priest of Lorraine had gathered a library of "good and ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts," which was unappreciative heirs were going to sell to a bookbinder as material for covers. "But God disposed otherwise of these MSS, for the very learned Father Jacques Sirmond, chancing then to pass through Lorraine, was advised of this threat to the Muses, and warded off the danger by hastening to the bookbinder and buying the MSS for fifty *ècus.* Then he had them put on a cart and taken to Paris, where they are kept in a little room at the back of the library." The gift of books mentioned by Edwards, *Memoirs,* I, 87, as donated by Achilles de Harlay, came much later, in 1717. See Franklin, *loc. cit.,* 385; and for the row about the books at the dispersion of the library, 390.

It may be of interest to note the ultimate fate of the library. After the Jesuits were expelled from France in 1762, the library was put up for public sale, beginning March 19, 1764, and two catalogues were published in preparation for the sale: *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque des ci-devant soi-disans Jésuites du Collége de Clermont, Dont la vente commencerá le lundi 19 Mars 1764,* A Paris au Palais, chez Saugrain et Leclerc, 1764, y compris la table des auteurs. (6752 nos.); and *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum collegii Claromontani, quem excipit Catalogus MSSum Domus professae Parisiensis,* Parisiis in Palatio, Apud Saugrain et Leclerc, 1764, 350 pp.

In the catalogue of books, 6752 authors are listed. Since a number of the authors were represented by several works, and since many of the works ran to several volumes, it is safe to estimate that the 6752 authors stand for at least 35,000 volumes. Moreover, in the two years that had elapsed between the expulsion of the Jesuits and the sale of the library, a good deal of looting had taken place. See Franklin, *loc. cit.,* 389-392. For detailed evidence of thefts by politicians on a like occasion, see Victor Van Tricht, S. J., "Du Sort des Bibliothèques de la Compagnie dans les Pays-Bas," in *La Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la. C. de J. et le P. Augustin de Backer,* Louvain, 1876, 243-257. Franklin estimated that the library had about 50,000 books and about 600 MSS, shortly before the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1762, *loc. cit.,* 386. What were left of the books after the looting were in part sold, in part fused with the library of the University of Paris, now housed in the College buildings. Edwards says that the combined libraries were made a sort of public library in 1770, *Memoirs,* I, 89. A large part of the MSS collection of the library is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. See especially MSS Phillips, p. 50; and Cat. Ashburnham-Barrois, p. 49. Some of the MSS were in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 265 sqq., 1458, 1631.

Sommervogel lists thirty-nine published works of his, and eight unfinished projects.[20]

The second librarian was Denis Petau (1583-1652). He too had been a co-worker with Casaubon, who got him to edit the works of Synesius in 1602, when Petau was only nineteen years old. He became a Jesuit in 1605, and taught rhetoric in the Jesuit colleges of Rheims and La Flèche. When the College of Clermont again began classes in 1618, Petau taught rhetoric there for three years, then positive theology from 1621 to 1644, when illness forced him to give up teaching. He succeeded Fronton du Duc as librarian in 1623, and apparently continued in office up to his death on December 11, 1652. He was a poet as well as a scholar, more renowned and prolific than even his master, Fronton. Sommervogel credits him with sixty-two published works.[21]

Two other Jesuits were librarians of the College between Petau and Jean Garnier: they were Philippe Briet (1601-1668), and Gabriel Cossart (1615-1674). Briet was geographer, chronologist, poet, historian, anthologist, a versatile fellow.[22] Cossart taught rhetoric in the College of Clermont for many years, wrote elegant Latin verses, was the college orator for formal occasions, and collaborated with the Jesuit, Philippe Labbé, in his *Concilia.* Sommervogel records thirty-two publications of his, mostly small pieces.[23] His collected speeches and poems, first published posthumously by Cramoisy in 1675, were in demand enough to call for two other editions, in 1690, and in 1723. He founded in the Faubourg St. Jacques, a hostel for poor students, who were popularly dubbed "Cossartins."[24]

Briet and Cossart, according to Garnier, functioned as librarians *"conjunctim,"* without any indication of the length of their terms of office.[25] Counting these two as the third and fourth

---

[20] *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus,* III, 233-249.

[21] *Ibid.,* VI, 588-616.

[22] For Briet's writings, *ibid.,* II, 156-161.

[23] *Ibid.,* II, 1495-1501. Cossart's writings were mostly small literary flourishes. But his work on Labbé's *Concilia* was a substantial job. After the death of Labbé in 1667, Cossart completed volumes IX and X of the collection, edited volume XI by himself, and furnished the *Apparatus* for the entire work, a rather formidable piece of bibliography.

[24] *Nouvelle Biographie Générale,* 12:44.

[25] The only date given affecting the question is that offered by François Oudin, S. J., in Niceron's *Mémoires.* He says that Garnier became librarian in 1674, that is, at the death of Cossart. Briet had then been dead six years, Niceron, *Mémoires,* vol. 40, 175. Oudin cites no authority of a province catalogue of the Jesuits, or the like, for his fixing the date at 1674. Indeed, the annual catalogues of the Jesuit provinces in those times did not uniformly specify the employment of the men assigned to the different colleges. One may suspect that Oudin simply took the death of Cossart in

librarians, Garnier says no more about himself than this: "The fifth, F. Jean Garnier, the author of this System."

Garnier, who seems to have been a doctor of theology of the University of Louvain,[26] was a member of the faculty of the College of Clermont for, perhaps, twenty or twenty-five years before he became librarian. He published there, in 1648, a preliminary study in his great work on the Pelagian heresy,[27] then in 1650 and 1651 two sets of theses which he had taught "nobilibus adolescentibus in Collegio Claromontano Societatis Jesu," and in 1651 a *Compendium Logicae Aristotelicae.* After that came the excursus to Bourges, during which he taught casuistry, and published a treatise on grace. Back at the College of Clermont, he completed his work on the Pelagians in his learned edition of *Marii Mercatoris . . . Opera,* in two folio volumes, published first by Cramoisy in 1673, and since then several times reprinted in various collections. His *Tractatus de Officiis Confesarii,* first published posthumously in Paris, 1688, had five editions up to 1733. Sommervogel reports twelve published works of Garnier, and two unpublished manuscripts.[28] Philosopher, theologian, historian, casuist, he keeps up the tradition of versatility in his scholarship. His work as librarian he took in his stride.

It is to be noted that three librarians practically divide the seventy-five years in which the Jesuits again had control of the library: allowing nineteen years for Fronton du Duc, twenty-seven years for Denis Petau, and, if we take Oudin's figures, twenty-two years for Gabriel Cossart. Such long terms of office made possible a thorough programme of library administration. It is also probable, as we shall see later, that these long-term librarians contributed a great deal, at least by way of preparation, to Garnier's work in classifying the library.

Next it must be noted that all of these Jesuit librarians were erudite men, and that in addition to their work as librarians they were actively engaged both in teaching and in writing.[29] It

---

1674 as the close of a term of office which may well have ended years before, when Cossart became active in managing his hostel for poor students and gathering funds for its maintenance. Yet, since Oudin's date is the only one definitely offered by anyone, it would be rash to go beyond it without more positive evidence than we now have. Hence it is accepted here.

[26] So Jean Le Clerc (under the pseudonym, "Joannes Phereponus") calls him in the *Appendix Augustiniana,* published as volume XII of the distinctive Amsterdam edition of *S. Augustini Opera,* 1703.

[27] *Juliani Eclanensis Episcopi Libellus Fidei, etc.* Parisiis, Sebastianus Mabre-Cramoisy, 1648.

[28] *Bibliothèque,* III, 1228-1232.

[29] The Jesuits of the College of Clermont, in spite of their large number of students and what we must estimate as a fairly heavy teaching load,

was in their time unthinkable that anyone but a scholar should be a librarian; and when Garnier published his book on the classification of his library, a book which, quite beyond his expectation, was to become one of the foundation works at least for French libraries, he did not even put his name on the title page. For him it was a minor work, in which the reader must look to a single phrase in the text for the name of its author.

The Housing of the Library

In the second chapter of the first part of his book, Garnier describes the way in which the books of the library were housed. His account is inadequate to convey any clear concept of the buildings and arrangements to one not already somewhat familiar with them, and must be supplemented by information drawn from other sources. He begins with this compact statement:

> As regards the housing of its books, the Library of the College in Paris of the Society of Jesus is divided thus: the old library, the new library, the attic with its vestibule, and two museums, each with an attic.
>
> These narrow quarters, which we have not been able to enlarge, have been utilized to the utmost by filling them completely with book-case piled upon book-case.
>
> Each of the library buildings is eighty-four feet long and twenty feet wide: the attic addition, which could be built only on the new library, is of the same length as the library.

Unfortunately, no drawing or plan of the buildings of the College of Clermont is now available to the writer. We must fall back upon what we know of the common character of the Continental colleges of the Jesuits. The buildings even of the large

---

were very productive in the field of writing and publishing. Sommervogel, without at all claiming to be exhaustive, lists 545 published works by members of the College faculty between 1618 and 1761, *Bibliothèque,* VI, 219-275. This check list includes works in theology and philosophy, Latin poems, a really large number of dramas (the College was famous for its plays), mathematical treatises, histories, biographies and panegyrics, and a good many editions of the classics. As regards the classics, it is worth recalling that a number of the editions "Ad usum Delphini," published under the general editorship of Pierre Daniel Huet (1630-1721), then one of the tutors of the Dauphin, were the work of Jesuits in the College of Clermont. To mention only a few, Charles de la Rue (1643-1725) edited the *Virgil* in 1675, *ibid.,* VII, 293; Jacques de la Baune (1665-1725) edited the *Panegyrici Veteres* in 1676, *ibid.,* I, 1055; Pierre Joseph Cantel (1645-1684) edited *Justinus* in 1677, and *Valerius Maximus* in 1679, *ibid.,* II, 690; Jean Hardouin (1646-1729) edited *Pliny* in 1685, *ibid.,* IV, 85. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship,* Cambridge University, 1908, II, 292-293, refers to some of these and cites estimates of the value of their work.

colleges were not separate structures, but were a series of extensions and wings added to an original unit and forming with it one complex whole. For the sake of light and air, the new additions were built to enclose open courts, in which there were usually gardens. There are evidences that the College of Clermont conformed to this general plan.

Thus, Alfred Franklin, writing twenty years before the old buildings of the College were destroyed, says that the library was located "in the second court" of the group of buildings on the Rue St. Jacques, overlooking the garden, and consisted of two long galleries.[30] Note Garnier's statement that the "old library" and the "new library" were of exactly the same length and width. That indicates that they were limited by the space between two other wings or by the dimensions of the structures upon which they were superimposed.

Clark has a very good photograph and a sketch plan of a Jesuit library at Rheims, built in the very year in which Garnier wrote his *Systema Bibliothecae,* and oddly enough of about the same floor dimensions as those of the old and new libraries in the College of Clermont. The Rheims library is an attic structure, built above an older building, with dormer windows, the slope of the new roof concealed by an ornate carved ceiling. The bookcases are built only against the walls, set out at a distance of five feet because of the steep slant of the roof, and carried back into the dormers.[31] Clark describes also a number of other similar libraries, notably the library of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, at Paris, built in 1675, and therefore contemporary with the Rheims library.[32] Only a few of the great national or public libraries were separate buildings; even Mazarin built his library over the stables.[33]

The two large libraries of the College of Clermont would be fairly high, say twenty feet or more, whilst the attics would not be more than ten or twelve feet at their highest. The museums, for which Garnier offers no indication of size, were quite small rooms adjoining the long galleries, almost as alcoves. In fact,

---

[30] Franklin, "La Bibliothèque," *loc. cit.,* 386. His statement, that one of the galleries was named in honor of de Harlay, must refer to a period later than 1717, when de Harlay's large gift of books came to the library. Franklin describes in some detail the frescos and ornamentation of the library, which made the galleries handsome rooms in the baroque style.

[31] John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books,* Cambridge University, 1901, 287-289, figures 132, 133.

[32] *Ibid.,* 114, 289, figures 36, 37.

[33] *Ibid.,* 272. This was the library completed in 1647, and later included in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Garnier says that the *pergula,* or attic of the first museum was an *appendix,* or alcove, of the large library.[34]

We can then roughly visualize the rooms that contained Garnier's library as these: two long, narrow, and high halls, ornately decorated, crowded with bookcases (the upper sections to be reached either by ladders or by a narrow balcony approached by a winding stairs), with only a few tables available to work at; a long, narrow, and low attic, again crowded with bookcases; two adjoining rooms, not much more than storage closets, which housed the manuscripts, a collection of coins and medals,[35] and some suppressed books from the library; an attic to each of these small rooms, serving as auxiliary storage space.

In these seven rooms, three fairly large, and four quite small, Garnier describes the shelving of the books:

> The folios and quartos are shelved in the two large libraries, the folios on the side facing the garden, the quartos on the opposite side: but in such a way that, as far as possible, the folios and quartos in the same classification are kept just across from each other.
>
> In the attic and its vestibule built on top of the new library are the octavos and smaller books, classed in the same order as the larger books in the two main libraries.
>
> In the first museum are kept the manuscript codices, together with a collection of coins and medals and some ancient and foreign curios.
>
> In the second museum are the prohibited books, works of heresy and impiety.
>
> In the attic of the first museum, which forms an alcove to the large library, are stored some books for which there is no room in the large library.
>
> In the attic of the second museum are all the books that offend good morals, especially those written out of hatred of religious orders.

It will be noted that the shelving of books according to their size is a matter of economy of space, not a basis of classification. The practice is quite common even today of shelving folios apart, in order not to waste shelf room.

As we shall see, Garnier's classification called for only four

---

[34] Franklin describes the "museum" which contained the prohibited books as a narrow closet, "étroit cabinet," scarcely lighted by one small window fitted with iron bars, *loc. cit.,* 387. And from Father Louis Jacob, *Traité des plus belles Bibliothèques,* II, 525-526, we learn that the other little room in which the MSS were kept was "au fond de leur bibliothèque." Franklin puts it "toward the middle of the first gallery, on the right hand side" *Ibid.,* 387.

[35] Franklin gives an account of this numismatic collection, which had been begun by Father Sirmond, *loc. cit.,* 387-388.

great divisions. These are already indicated in the next passage about the housing of the library:

The old library houses the books on Theology and Philosophy, divided into nineteen classes, with an alphabetic notation.[36] . . . The new library houses books on History and Jurisprudence, divided into thirty-one classes, for twenty-five of which the notation is a doubled Latin alphabet, and for the other six the Greek alphabet.[37] . . . The books in the attic over the new library (octavos and smaller) are divided into fifty classes corresponding to the classification in the old and new libraries and having the same alphabetic notations. . . .[38]

In the first museum, besides the collection of classified coins there are five groups of manuscripts: Greek MSS, Latin MSS, foreign language MSS, unpublished MSS of Jesuits, other unpublished MSS.

In the second museum, the books of heretics and infidels are arranged in eight groups.[39]

No notation is indicated for the manuscripts and for the books in the two museum. Possibly none was considered necessary for so small a number of items.

---

[36] Here follow the detailed heads of the classes: twelve, A-M, for theology; the remaining seven, N-T, for philosophy, mathematics, medicine, languages, oratory, poetry, and literary criticism, *Systema,* 7, 8.

[37] These again are enumerated here: Geography as "Aa," Chronology as "Bb"; the next twenty-two for subdivisions of history (J and U are not used; the twenty-fifth notation, for fiction, is ampersand, &); then the first five letters of the Greek alphabet for Church Councils and Papal Documents, Canon Law, Roman Civil Law, French Law, Laws of other countries, International Law. There should be six Greek letters, but the printer left out zeta.

[38] Here follows an indication of which books are in the vestibule or ante-chamber of the attic, and which in the attic library itself.

[39] The eight groups, Infidels, Lutherans, Zwinglians, French Calvinists, Dutch and German Calvinists, English Protestants, Socinians, and "Modern Sects," are evidently organized apart from the general scheme of classification.

The shelving apart of heretical, impious, and immoral books was a common practice of Jesuit librarians, as a consequence of one interpretation of the first of the Jesuit "Rules of the Librarian" as they existed in Garnier's time. See W. Kane, *Catholic Library Problems,* Chicago, 1939, appendix III, 208.

Edwards expresses a rather naive astonishment over Garnier's making provision for a physical separation of heterodox and immoral books from the rest of the collection, *Memoirs of Libraries,* I, 87. Apparently he was not aware of how many libraries followed the practice of shelving such books apart, either upon ethical principles or out of political expediency. Possibly if Jean Guignard had kept his politically wrong books in the library "Hell," he might not have been hanged. For an account of how, even in sophisticated modern times, the National Library of France continues the practice of relegating some books to a Gehenna, see Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Icono-Bio-Bibliographie de Tous les Ouvrages Composant cette Célèbre Collection.* Paris, 1913.

The Use of the Library

About the important question of who used the library, and how it was used, Garnier says nothing directly. The two remaining chapters, III and IV, of the first part of his book present the basic reasoning for his choice of main dvisions in classification and for the ordering of the sequences within the divisions. Only at the close, on page 14, does he offer two rules of the library which throw some light on its policy of loans.

> First. No one shall lend a printed book to any one outside the College, but shall refer the request for such loan to the Librarian: and even the Librarian must not make such a loan without permission of the Rector and without getting a receipt showing the exact date of the loan and its time limit.
>
> Second. Manuscript codices must not be let out on loan, but must be consulted only in the Library.

There is no novelty in these rules, which are only a paraphrase of rule seven of the Jesuit "Rules of the Librarian." Their significance is that they do imply a definite loan service, even in the restrictions put upon loans. Unquestionably the Jesuit teachers in the College had a very full and free use of the library. The young Jesuit scholastics who were studying in the College had a limited access to the books. Scholars not connected with the College, although still more restricted, yet were allowed to use the library. Edwards says: "Probably, few Libraries in Paris, or in Italy, were more diligently used than was, for a considerable period, the Library of that College of Clermont, which, in 1682 changed the name it had made famous for that of 'College Louis-le-Grand.' "[40]

Did the general run of students in the College, numbering about 3,000 in Garnier's time, have the privilege of borrowing from the library? It is quite certain that they did not. An exceptional student might have some loans of books; but the mass of seventeenth century students had no more use of the library than had the mass of students in our American colleges even well on into the nineteenth century.[41] The students depended upon their textbooks, and still more upon the instruction and training given them by their teachers, for external assistance in their own work of educating themselves.

---

[40] *Memoirs of Libraries,* I, 88. See also Franklin, *loc. cit.,* 387.

[41] In this connection it is well to recall the fact that the library of the University of Michigan began a loan service for home reading only in 1906, *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities,* U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 9, 1930, I, 612.

Libraries, until only yesterday, were looked upon as the workshop of the scholar; their use for entertainment was very limited; their use as an exercise-ground for the immature was scarcely even thought of. That attitude toward libraries explains why a book collection of 32,000 volumes was considered ample for the College of Clermont.[42] The contrast between that attitude toward libraries, as part of an educational tradition thousands of years old, and the very modern notion of making the library the center of school education, marks one of the profoundest changes in our approach to the problem of education.

A final observation on the use of the library in the College of Clermont is suggested by Garnier's account of how crowded with bookcases was the entire space of the library. That fact tells us that there was no reading-room in our modern meaning of the word. A few tables and chairs sufficed for the small number of persons who might be consulting the library at any one time. Books were taken from the library to be read in the rooms of the teachers or of the comparatively few resident students who had the privilege of borrowers.

It was for such a library, organized for such services, that Jean Garnier devised his scheme of classification. Hence it has been judged necessary to offer at least this hasty sketch of the library as a prelude to an examination of Garnier's classification, because any practical scheme of classification is meant to function as introducing a definite group of readers to a definite collection of books. It is a mistake not seldom made to discuss schemes of classification as if they existed *in vacuo*.

The Authorship of the "Systema"

There is one last question that must be asked and answered in this introduction to Garnier's work in classifying the library of the College of Clermont: is Garnier really the author of the scheme of classification? As has been seen, although his name is not printed on the title page of the book, Garnier makes the plain statement that he is the fifth in the new series of librarians,

[42] It was a large library for those times. For instance, the Royal Library, in 1618, when it was housed in the College of Clermont, had only 10,000 volumes, Franklin, *loc. cit.*, 380, n. 1; the library of the Sorbonne in the eighteenth century, had less than 30,000 volumes, Edwards, I, 81. When Cotton Mather, the Yankee contemporary of Garnier, boasted that he had "a library exceeding any man's in all this land," his total book collection was about 4,000 volumes, H. Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America,* New York, 1939, 301.

"hujus Systematis author."[43] The only doubt that has ever been raised about his veracity in claiming to have devised the scheme of classification comes from an *on dit* of Adrien Baillet, a contemporary of Garnier. Here is what he says:

> Father Garnier, a Jesuit of Paris, has had printed about six years ago, in quarto, the Classification of the Library of the College of Clermont, to which the Jesuits have since given the name *Louisle-Grand.* We have already said a lot of nice things about this work, just above, and we add here that as his method is a very fine one, his Classification can serve as a model for all the world, to set up a good arrangement for the Books of any Library whatever it may be. Some ("quelques-uns") claim that he has done no more than lend his name to the real author of this Scheme.[44]

Oudin airily dismisses this vague attack upon Garnier's authorship of the *Systema* by saying:

> This claim has no probability. Throughout the *Systema* one can readily recognize the style and spirit and methodical order of Father Garnier, who, from his assiduous reading of the Summa of *S. Thomas,* had acquired the knack of detailed subdivision.[45]

The argument drawn from internal evidence is not a particularly strong one, since Garnier's book is almost as tight and bare a piece of writing as the statement of a mathematical problem. And if reading the *Summa* of St. Thomas is all the equipment needed for skill in classifying books, the theological schools of Europe and America should have produced a multitude of excellent classifiers. A much stronger argument is the simple, direct statement of Garnier himself, a well-known scholar, and by every presumption a truthful and honorable man, that he is the author of the book, and therefore of the scheme of classification contained in the book.

Why, then, did Baillet give public circulation to an attack on

---

[43] *Systema Bibliothecae,* 6.

[44] *Jugemens des Sçavans sur les principaux Ouvrages des Auteurs,* 9 vols., Paris, 1685-1694, II, 275. Baillet, born in 1649, was ordained priest in 1676 and four years later became librarian to Chrétien François de Lamoignon, the Advocate General, whose library included 1,550 volumes of MSS. The library was later sold in England. Baillet proposed a *Dictionary Catalogue,* and set down excellent rules for making one, nearly two hundred years before Charles Ammi Cutter rediscovered the idea. See his long Latin *Preface,* second part of vol. II, *Jugemens des Sçavans.* He had Jansenist sympathies; and vol. I of his *Vie des Saints* was put on the index. H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius,* Innsbruck, 1893, LL, 887-891. Niceron, *Mémoires,* III, 25 sqq. *Catholic Encyclopedia,* II, 206-207; VII, 108b. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale,* Paris, 1866, 4:183.

[45] Niceron, *Mémoires,* 40:175-176.

Garnier's authorship which was no more than a vague rumor? It is easy to say that envy motivated both the vague rumor and Baillet's publication of it. But envy is not so easily proven; and it is bad morals as well as bad pleading to answer one slander with another. Besides, an envious man would scarcely praise Garnier's *Systema* as generously as Baillet does in these words:

> One may bravely stop right here [at Garnier's scheme] without need to go on to study all the boring platitudes which have been wished upon us on this subject by Possevin in his *Bibliothèque Choisie,* Father Blanchot, the Minim, in his *Idée,* the Jesuit Clement in his *Instruction,* J. Bapt. de Cardone in his *Conseil* for the King of Spain, and even M. Naudé himself in his *Avis.*[46]

A possible foundation for the vague doubt that Garnier really devised the scheme of classification is Oudin's statement that Garnier became librarian in 1674, that is, only four years before the *Systema* was published. That might seem too brief an experience to qualify him as the originator of a complete scheme of classification. But even if one discounts the fact that Oudin may have been mistaken about the date, and the probability that Garnier had acted as librarian for many more years, it must be noted that Baillet should be the last man in the world to take that short term of librarianship as an insurmountable obstacle to Garnier's authorship, since he himself had become a librarian only in 1680, and within five years was publishing his own excellent rules for a Dictionary Catalogue and dealing critically with all the cataloguers who had preceded him.

The only very solid ground for the hint or suggestion that the classification was not Garnier's was the fact that he had come into a library, which, even in its second period, had been functioning for seventy years, under scholarly librarians, and had been extensively used by other scholars. It would appear most unlikely that such a library had not been classified before Garnier took charge of it. What was that earlier classification? How much had Fronton du Duc, Petau, Briet, and Cossart contributed to the scheme of classification which Garnier published as his own?

---

[46] Two of these writers on libraries were Jesuits: Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), a Mantuan, tutor to the Gonzagas, later Rector of Avignon and Lyon, then Secretary to the General, Everard Mercurian; and Claude Clement (1594-1643), who on the title page of his book calls himself a Burgundian, and who taught and died in Madrid. Possevino's *Bibliotheca Selecta,* Rome, 1593, and Clement's *Musei, sive Bibliothecae . . . Extructio, Instructio, Cura, Usus,* Lyons, 1635, are erudite, but prosy, discussions of books and libraries, not practical helps.

We have no means of giving exact answers to those questions. But we do know some facts about Jesuit libraries that may afford a sort of indirect answer. We know, in the first place, that throughout the seventeenth century, and perhaps earlier, there was a general common possession of a classification of knowledge, based upon the traditional approach of the schools to the humanities, philosophy, history, the sciences, law, medicine, and theology. That common framework of knowledge supports every scheme of library classification devised at the time. Each new scheme was at best only a rearranging of accepted elements, a refining of method in organizing the sequences. That fact was what Gustave Mouravit had in mind when he declared that there is no real "first" in bibliography any more than in literature.[47]

The second fact that we know is this: the libraries in Jesuit colleges, besides being organized within the traditional framework of knowledge, had a special tendency to a fairly common form of classification and cataloguing, both because the colleges all followed a common scheme of studies and a common method of teaching, and because the Jesuits moved about from college to college a good deal, and hence were carriers of library methods in a way likely to promote resemblance between one Jesuit library and another. No common library technique was imposed upon all Jesuit colleges by authority but the college libraries had much in common through the close fellowship of the Jesuits.

Two instances, widely apart, may illustrate this inter-library borrowing of classifications amongst the Jesuit colleges. In 1678, the year in which Garnier published the *Systema,* the Jesuit College of Rheims built a new library, which Clark was able to study and photograph more than two hundred years later, because a lucky chance had kept it intact as the linen-room of a municipal hospital.[48] Now the Jesuits had been in Rheims since 1549, except for the period of expulsion under Henry IV, 1594 to 1603. The library to be housed in the new building was, therefore, about as old as the library at Paris. On the ornate ceiling, painted within shields over each set of shelves, are the headings

---

[47] "Ce n'est ni à Gabriel Martin ni à Prosper Marchand, ni à Garnier, ni à Bouillaud, que revient cet honneur (d'avoir crée un système bibliographique a peu près universellement adopté) : l' *enfin Malherbe vint* n'est pas plus vrai, absolument parlant, en bibliographie qu'en literature" *Le Livre et la Petite Bibliothèque d'Amateur,* p. 332; quoted by A. Cim, *Le Livre,* IV, 311.

[48] Clark, *The Care of Books,* 287-289, figs. 132, 133. There is a complete plan of the College, submitted December 13, 1762, by the surveyors, Guillaume Rousseau and Ponce Drouet, M 248, Archives Nationales, Paris.

of the book classification. The headings differ considerably from those in Garnier's book; but they have a family resemblance perceptible at first sight.[49] It is a resemblance which one could observe in any Jesuit college in Europe, not merely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but, as the present writer can testify from many libraries he has seen, even into the twentieth century.

The second instance is dated about two hundred and twenty-five years later. In the Jesuit college in Chicago, a dictionary card catalogue of the library, based on the Dewey Decimal Classification, had been begun in 1899. There years later, James O'Meara, a Jesuit who had been educated in Europe, and who was then fifty-seven years old, became librarian. He promptly scrapped the newfangled catalogue, and made a ledger catalogue strikingly similar in general structure to Garnier's, although he had never set eyes on a copy of Garnier's book. He contented himself with eighteen broad headings of classes, and made no attempt at organizing a sequence of subdivision. Under each class he listed the books by authors, alphabetically. His main classes were also arranged alphabetically. The pages of the catalogue were typewritten, with space left for later insertions, and then bound into a book. It was a simple scheme, rather too simple for the 25,000 volumes or so then in the library. It was inspired by nothing more than his general acquaintance with the common features of Jesuit libraries.

Yet, when one has granted the full value of that dependence of each new classifier upon the past, and the special influence of common generic notions of library classification amongst the Jesuits, it is still a matter of justice to give the deviser of each new scheme of classification credit for the skill he uses in his handling of what he has inherited from his predecessors. That is the limit of credit one is asked to give Garnier as the author of the classification he arranged for the library of the College of Clermont. He himself, one may be sure, would make no larger claim than to have shown ingenuity in adapting principles of classification, which had long been a common possession of edu-

[49] These are the headings as marked on Clark's plan of the library, in the order in which, beginning along one of the narrow sides of the library, they followed around the remaining three sides; Scriptura et Interpretes (2 cases), Patres Graeci, Patres Latini, Ascetici (2 cases), Theologi Scholatici (2 cases), Theologi Controversistae, Theologi Morales, Philosophia Antiqua, Philosophia Nova, Mathematici, Jus Utrumque, Oratores Profani, Poetae, Grammatici, Historia Profana (3 cases), Philologi (2 cases), Oratores Sacri, Historia Sacra (3 cases), Miscellanei, Clark, *Care of Books,* figure 133.

cated men. What degree of skill Garnier displayed in his adaptation must be judged by his work itself, which we shall proceed to consider in the second section of this paper.

W. KANE

Librarian
Loyola University, Chicago

(Part II will appear in July.)

Private Schools in St. Louis, 1809-1821

Of schools in St. Louis before the Louisiana Purchase little can now be written. A number of the wealthier persons in the town were educated and some of their sons were sent away to France, Canada, or various places in the United States for their schooling. A quantity of books in private libraries suggests that some, at least, of the people were well read. Nevertheless, concerning formal education in the town, we have little data for the first four decades. Tradition, supported by a few documents, has preserved the names of two teachers: Mme. Rigauche, who conducted a school during the 1790's, and Jean Baptiste Trudeau, who seems to have been the village schoolmaster for the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[1] Of their activities as teachers, however, little is known. An account of the history of schools in St. Louis becomes possible only with the establishment of the first press by Joseph Charless in 1808. From the files of the *Missouri Gazette,* of its successors, and of their rivals some account can be made of the various private schools that flourished or failed between 1808 and 1821.[2]

---

[1] For a summary of the state of education in eighteenth century St. Louis see J. F. McDermott, *Private Libraries in Creole Saint Louis,* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, 12-16. This is a subject I hope to present in greater detail at a future time.

[2] Some idea of books used in these schools may gleaned from various advertisements in the local press. *The Missouri Gazette,* July 26, 1808, advertised that "A Variety of School books were for sale, at this Office." Aaron Elliot and Son, druggists, offered "Children's spelling books, first and second part" at this time, *ibid.,* August 31, September 7, September 14, 1808. The firm of Hunt and Hankinson offered "Webster's Spelling Books" in the *Gazette* of February 22, 1809. Simpson and Quarles, along with their stock of "fresh drugs and medicines," carried "a handsome selection of school books," *ibid.,* June 29, 1816. Dr. Arthur Nelson, in his drug store, had school books, *ibid.,* May 29, 1818; P. M. Billon also handled such books, *ibid.,* May 15, 1818. Add to these Tuttle and Teller, *ibid.,* January 8, 1819, Gilhully and Cummins who offered both French and English schoolbooks, *ibid.,* March 29, 1820, and J. J. Smith & Co., *ibid.,* October 10, 1821. Among a lot of books offered at private sale by Thomas Riddick, *ibid.,* April 5, 1820, are mentioned: Latin, French-English, and Greek dictionaries, *Telemachus,* a French grammar, and something called *Youth's Scientific Library* in 6 volumes. The advertisement of Essex and Hough, *ibid.,* February 21, 1821, is more specific than most; here we find mentioned "A variety of schoolbooks" which includes "Mathematics, Philosophy, natural & moral, Geographies, Arithmetics, Dictionaries . . . Murray's Grammars, exercise and key, English readers, Introduction & sequel, Webster's Spelling Books." William Savage announced in the *St. Louis Enquirer,* August 15, 1821, that he intended to auction off a lot of books which included "Walker's Dictionary, French & English ditto, Meyer [?] Mythology, 3 vols., Aikin's Geography, Homer's Works, 3 vols., Spanish Grammar, French exercises, Horace, 2 vols."

The first school of record is that advertised in the *Missouri Gazette* of January 11, 1809. Christopher Friedrich Schewe, "formerly Professor in the Lycee Academy at Paris, lately minister of the Gospel at Pittsburg," proposed to establish a "French & English Grammar School." By his method pupils could be taught to speak either language "with fluency and ease" in one-sixth of the time ordinarily required. If requested, he would also teach arithmetic, geography, geometry, and other branches of mathematics, and drawing both free-hand and architectural. He planned also an evening school for adults. Three weeks later a notice in both languages announced the opening of the school for February 6. He must have had some success, for almost a year later he advertised that he would continue to give lessons in French; but it is clear that he was not too prosperous, for he wanted to sell for cash a quantity of candles. For a decade Schewe's notices continued to appear. In November 1813, he was still dealing in candles and offering to teach German, French, and English, and three years later he again offered his services as a language teacher. The last notices of his educational activities in St. Louis we find in the fall of 1819. Late in September he proposed a "French Evening School"; the next month he gave some detail of his plans. What success he enjoyed I do not know; Brackenridge declared that Thomas Hart Benton took lessons here. Two years later Schewe died at Pensacola, Florida.[3]

Although his was not a school in the same sense, mention must be made here of the activities of Pierre St. Martin. On September 20 he informed the citizens of St. Louis "*that he has* opened a Dancing School *at Mr. Yostie's, where he hopes to receive the patronage of the public, all the new European dances (particularly the* Waltz) *taught in the handsomest style. Lessons in* Fencing *and the use of the* Broad Sword *will be given at the same place: every exertion will be made to perfect his scholars in each science. Private lessons in either* branch *will be given to those who wish it.*"[4]

The next person to announce his school in the local press bore the appropriate name of Isaac Septlivres. His card, of November 16, 1809, informed the public that "Having succeeded in providing himself with everything necessary for teaching the art

[3] For a much fuller account of the career of this eccentric see my "Scholmaster—Early Western Model," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,* December 1939.

[4] *Missouri Gazette,* September 20, 1809.

of Drawing, he has the honor of acquainting the Inhabitants of St. Louis, that he intends immediately to commence his lessons in that art. He also proposes teaching geography, Mathematic's and French Grammar."[5] Apparently he did not derive sufficient income from this enterprise, for we find him advertising the next spring that "a Tobacco Spinner, an industrious and sober man, will find constant employment at the Manufactory of I. Septlivres."[6] His career as a schoolmaster, however, was not yet at an end.

Three days before this latest notice of the Frenchman's, George Tompkins opened a school in the house of M. Alvarez.[7] Two years later we read that Septlivres and Tompkins intended to open a school where they would teach the French and English languages, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and geography. "The utility," they believed, "of a school, in which both languages can be correctly taught, is so obvious, that the subscribers think it useless to say anything on the subject. They flatter themselves that, by their diligence in the discharge of their duty, they shall deserve the patronage of the public." Septlivres also offered lessons in drawing "at any hour not appropriated to the duties of the school." He was then giving lessons in town.[8] The partnership did not work out; it was dissolved by mutual consent on November 7, the arrangement being that each would keep school separately and would give lessons "to such of the scholars of each other, as may wish to learn the French and English languages."[9] The last news I find of the Frenchman was dated from the St. Louis jail, January 27, 1813; imprisoned for debt, he gave notice to his creditors that he was about to go through bankruptcy proceedings.[10] Tompkins soon after this announced the discontinuance of his school at the end of the quarter (May 6) and wished his patrons luck in securing a better man.[11] He did not free himself so easily from his teaching, however, for it was not until more than a year later that he declined "keeping school any longer," but, to show his determination this time, he offered for sale "his School Furniture, consisting of a

---

[5] *Missouri Gazette.* At this time he lodged at the house of Vincent Bouis, père.

[6] *Louisiana Gazette,* May 10, 1810.

[7] *Louisiana Gazette,* May 3, 1810.

[8] *Louisiana Gazette,* June 6, 1812. Notice in French and English. The school was to open on August 7.

[9] *Missouri Gazette,* October 24, 1812.

[10] *Missouri Gazette,* February 6, 1813.

[11] *Missouri Gazette,* February 13, 1813.

writing Table, 3 Benches, a Book Case, and a ten plate Stove."[12] His later career was more fortunate than that of his late partner, for eventually he became a Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri.[13]

In 1812 Francis Guyol advertised that he gave lessons in "Architecture, Planimetry, Landscape, etc." Although he was also a portrait and miniature painter, he proposed at this time to instruct "a few young gentlemen in Arithmetic, Geometry plane and spheric, Trigonometry, Algebra, with Drawing, Fortification &c. so as to prepare them for an entrance into the engineering corps of the United States army."[14] Guyol will reappear later in this history as a teacher at another local school.

Apparently the first pretentious girls' school was that opened on May 20, 1812 by the widow Pescay. Her advertisement is worth quoting in full, for it illustrates the excessive modesty characteristic of most of these not very professional teachers, it describes the courses thought desirable for "young ladies," it gives us some picture of the life at such a boarding school, and it informs us of the cost of this tuition and care.

Encouraged by the friendly advice of several Ladies of this place, I will open an Academy for the instruction of young Ladies.

I am sensible of the importance of the task which I impose upon myself, and how many qualifications it requires, I will supply by attention what I may want in ability, by these means I hope to meet with some success.

I will teach young Ladies, Reading, Writing, the French Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography, should any parents wish their children to learn the English language Grammatically, I will have an assistant capable to teach it. Select reading, either ancient and modern history or morality will enlighten their minds as well as form their hearts. Sewing, embroidering, &c. will fill up the intervals of their lessons.

The vicissitudes of fortune have taught me as well as many others,

---

[12] *Missouri Gazette,* June 12, 1814.

[13] George Tompkins was born in Caroline County, Virginia, March 1780. He went to Kentucky about 1804 and taught school in that state for six or seven years. He studied law while he was teaching in St. Louis; after giving up his school, he moved to Franklin, Missouri, to practice. He served twice in the legislature and in 1824 succeeded John Rice Jones on the Supreme Bench, a position which he filled for twenty-one years; he retired in 1845 and died near Jefferson City, April 7, 1846. Billon, *Annals,* 1804-1821, 270-271; see also W. V. N. Bay, *The Bench and Bar of Missouri,* St. Louis, 1878, 30-36.

[14] *Louisiana Gazette,* March 14, 1812. Among other things Guyol was an ensign of militia in Manuel Lisa's company, 1814, and a justice of the people in St. Louis, 1818; Louis Houck, *History of Missouri,* III, 108; *Missouri Gazette,* March 6, 1818.

how usefull it is for young persons to be early accostomed to habits of order and industry, I propose to give lessons on domestic economy to such of my pupils who will board with me, the time which they will employ in these pursuits shall not interfere with their other duties.

A salutary amusement taken under my eyes will recreate them after dinner & in the evening, after the labor of the day. For this purpose I have chosen a house with an orchard, in which (in fine weather) they may take pleasure and exercise which are necessary to health.

Desirous to devote all my time to them, I will be deprived of the society of my acquaintances. I should fear to lose by half an hour's disturbance the benefit of a day's labour. I will be disengaged on Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

If any persons should have business with me, which cannot be postponed until those days, I request them to come between the hours of one and half after one in the afternoon, and in the evening from half past six to seven o'clock.

The price of Boarding & Lodging including tuition for the above mentioned branches is one hundred and forty dollars per annum. The expences of the class, such as books, paper, quills, ink, &c. excepted. Also in case of sickness, Physician and medicine, &c. excepted.

Those who will come in the morning after breakfast and pass the day and return in the evening: seventy two dollars per annum, the expences of the class as above excepted.

Those who will board entirely at home, and will only come to take lessons: thirty six dollars per annum, the same expences as here above excepted.

Finally for those who are younger and not susceptible of the same instruction: twenty four dollars per annum, the same expences as here above excepted.

Teachers of the different branches of fine arts such as Drawing, Dancing, &c. shall be paid separately: for Drawing nine dollars a quarter, for one lesson every day, paper, pencils, &c. excepted, for dancing the same price, three lessons every week.

I shall begin on the 29th of this month at Mr. Sanguinet's house, Second street.[15]

Mme. Pescay had reason to know something of the vicissitudes of fortune. Born Angelique La Grange and educated in France, she married François Pescay of Santo Domingo. After the insurrection of 1793, they moved to Philadelphia where they kept a store. In 1810, now widowed, she came to St. Louis with her sons, George and Jules, and established a store. The following summer George, taking a cargo of lead to New Orleans, was

[15] Her notice, dated May 8, appeared in the *Louisiana Gazette,* for Saturday, May 9, 1812.

drowned. Mme. Pescay's next enterprise was the "Young Ladies Academy." This, Billon tells us, was "well patronized by our first families" and here she "completed the education of a number of young ladies of the place and vicinity." She continued to teach for about four years and then once more tried business, at first alone and then in partnership.[16] The last mention of her in St. Louis was an announcement of misfortune that overtook this woman of varied activities. She gave notice from the St. Louis Jail that she was about to apply for permission to take benefit of the laws for insolvent debtors.[17] Billon says that she moved with Jules to Pensacola, Florida, in 1822.

The next person to advertise a private school was Mrs. Jane Richards (1813) who planned to open her establishment in Manuel Lisa's house, where she promised "every possible attention" to the education of the children sent her. It is probable that she continued to teach for a number of years, for in 1817 she was an assistant to Giddings.[18]

New educational activity was next represented by a specialty. N. B. Nichols gave notice of

> opening a School for the Art of Writing on a new, elementary and systematic plan, which by the use of the 18 lessons of two hours each, persons at a proper age and common capacity may acquire, with a little practice, a fair, regular and elegant handwriting with ease and dispatch; as Capitals, Figures, large and small Roman Hands, Running and Mercantile Hands, and the art of making an elegant Pen in the best and most approved manner.

Ladies and gentlemen who wished to be instructed in this "elegant and improved art of Penmanship" were invited to call upon Nichols at H. Austin's house where they would see speci-

---

[16] Frederic L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial days, from 1804 to 1821,* St. Louis, 1888, 256-258. In 1818 she advertised as just received from New Orleans by steamboat *Constitution* goods which included a number of wines, sirops ("Cappilaire, Fleur d'orange, Punch, Limon"), and "Confitures de Havane, Raisins, Amandes, Jus d'Orange, Elixir de Garus, Creme de Rose, Huile d'Anis," snuff, tobacco, and coffee, *Missouri Gazette,* April 10, 1818; notice dated "2d Avril." The next summer, in partnership with a person named Daly, she advertised a stock of hardware just received, but this firm broke up in September of that year, *Missouri Gazette,* August 11, September 22, 1819. In the following year she offered to sell or trade two lots "on the hill," *Missouri Gazette,* October 3, 1820.

[17] *Missouri Gazette,* November 22, 1820.

[18] *Missouri Gazette,* May 8, 1813. Paxton, in his *Directory of St. Louis,* 1821, listed her then as a widow who kept a boarding house at 43 North Main Street. According to the *Missouri Advocate* of November 26, 1825, she died on November 19, 1825 "at an advanced age"; formerly of Connecticut she had been "for many years a resident of this place." The inventory of her estate, filed December 19, 1825, listed household goods worth $581.56¼; *Saint Louis Probate Court Records,* No. 698.

mens of the work done by his pupils and where he would discuss terms and hours. Ladies could be provided with private lessons if they would meet in small parties and send him notice. A briefer notice in French announced that his stay in St. Louis would be short but that he would be charmed to have his plan put to the proof; here he affirmed that his series of lessons would cost five *gourdes* (dollars). An editorial puff a week later described the writing master as "a gentleman possessing the highest testimonials, from the first characters in the eastern states" and assured readers that this was "a golden moment, which, being lost, may not be attained at any future time of their lives."[19]

Early in 1815 C. Stewart announced the opening of his school, to be held at the house of E. Beebe, for Monday, January 18. He declared also that, if a sufficient number or pupils would attend, that he would open a night school at the same time.[20]

In 1810-11 Henry Marie Brackenridge had found in St. Louis "a French school and an English one"; the town then had, he said, fourteen hundred people of whom four hundred were persons of color.[21] By 1816 the population of the town had more than doubled and the possibilities of educating one's children had considerably increased—at least the variety of educational possibilities was much greater. George C. Sibley, writing from Fort Osage, September 28, 1816, informed his brother Sam that

> There are now some pretty good preparatory Schools at St. Louis; one of them a Lancastrian School—no doubt a well endowed Academy will be established soon; Congress has by Law given a handsome property to the Corporation of St. Louis for the purpose of establishing a college. A respectable clergyman has been engaged I am informed, at a salary of *1500* a year to superintend an Academy at St. Louis and to preach. You need be under no apprehensions therefore on the Subject of Schools.[22]

The Lancastrian establishment to which Sibley referred was that founded in the summer of 1815 by James Sawyer who, in July, rented "a pleasant room near Major Christy's." This, however, was only a temporary location, for he intended to remove "to the first eligible situation which can be procured." At his Seminary he expected to teach "Spelling, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic on the Lancastrian System. He will also teach Eng-

---

[19] *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser,* May 7, May 14, 1814.
[20] *Missouri Gazette,* January 14, 1815.
[21] *Views of Louisiana,* Pittsburgh, 1814, 123-124.
[22] Sibley MSS., Vol. I, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

lish Grammar, Geography, the Latin and Greek Languages, Rhetorick, Mathematicks and Natural Philosophy." We read of Sawyer next at Christmas time when he took an "opportunity to tender his thanks to his friends and patrons for their liberality" and also to inform them that "he hopes to make the SEMINARY useful in proportion to the public favor." In the light of this, he announced the acquisition of "a pair of Globes, some elementary classical works, and a new system of Geography, with atlases of incomparable merit, [which] will enable him to offer the means of education to young gentlemen and ladies under very favorable circumstances." Tuition in his school was "five dollars advanced, or six dollars at the end of each quarter, in Grammar and Geography, seven dollars advanced; Mathematicks, Belles Letters [*sic*], Latin or Greek languages or Philosophy, ten dollars." For tuition in the "higher branches of education" he asked for application by letter before the first of the year, so that he would have an opportunity to send east for books. "Indigent children and orphans," he announced, "will be taken at a reduced price or for nothing as the case may require."[23]

In his second year Sawyer took for a partner a man who was to attain a good deal of reputation by his several books on the early west. Timothy Flint and James Sawyer on May 30, 1816, informed St. Louisans that they were now

> Associated for the purpose of continuing to teach the first principles of education upon the lancastrian system; and the higher branches, as Grammar, Geography with the use of Maps and the Globe, Composition, Rhetoric, the Latin and Greek languages, Mathematics and Philosophy. . . . They propose to pay particular attention to Letter-Writing, a branch of education, the most indispensible, and at the same time most neglected. They will strive to teach their pupils a correct elocution and to deliver with propriety.

Furthermore, they gave assurance to parents in another important detail: "While no principles of religion will be taught, that militate with any form of christian worship, they pledge themselves to parents, that they will watch over the manners, the morals, the improvement and happiness of their pupils with undeviating strictness and fidelity." In addition they offered to give private lessons to those who would "associate for that purpose."[24]

---

[23] *Missouri Gazette,* July 22, December 23, December 30, 1815.

[24] *Missouri Gazette,* June 1, 1816. For Flint consult John Ervin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint, Pioneer, Missionary, Author, Editor, 1780-1840,* Cleveland, Clark, 1911.

The Sawyer-Flint partnership did not last very long. Late in the year Sawyer was advertising for "a few scholars in the Arts and Sciences" whom he would teach at his house near Belle Fontaine.[25] They may have parted because they could not get along together but Flint told the Secretary of the Missionary Society at Hartford that he had found the wickedness of St. Louis oppressive and the exertions of his missionary preaching too great: "the duties of a school were incompatible with all this, & with my health." He added "I will just observe in closing, that I received 120$ at St. Louis for keeping school, & 104 as a subscription for preaching one quarter. I came here [St. Charles, Missouri] the first of Sept. I was sollicitted to stay there, & might have had a large salary. But I prefer privacy & the duties of a missionary with a very limited living."[26]

Before leaving Flint I introduce here a harsh and satiric comment of his on schools in St. Louis descriptive of the years 1815 to 1820. There is an element of truth in the statement but there is also evident a good deal of bitterness and prejudice.

I have been amused in reading puffing advertisements in the newspapers. A little subscription school, in which half the pupils are abecedarians, is a college. One is a Lancastrian school, or a school of "instruction mutuelle." There is the Pestalozzi establishment, with its appropriate emblazoning. There is the agricultural school, the missionary school, the grammar box, the new way to make a wit of a dunce in six lessons, and all the mechanical ways of innoculating children with learning, that they may not endure the pain of getting it in the old and natural way. I would not have you smile exclusively at the people of the West. This ridiculous species of swindling is making as much progress in your country as here. The misfortune is, that these vile pretensions finally induce the people to believe, that there is a "royal road" to learning. The old and beaten track, marked out by the only sure guide, experience, is forsaken. The parents are flattered, deceived, and swindled. Puffing pretenders take the place of the modest man of science, who scorns to compete with him in these vile arts. The children have their brains distended with the "east wind," and grow up at once empty and conceited.

---

[25] *Missouri Gazette,* November 30, 1816. At some time in 1816 Sawyer bought the southwest corner of 4th and Walnut from Auguste Chouteau for $251. Of this sum he paid $1 in cash, gave a note for $100 for one year, and paid the balance in tuition, for Chouteau's children, Saint Louis *Globe-Democrat,* July 7, 1918.

[26] Timothy Flint to the Rev. Abel Flint, St. Charles, October 10, 1816; typescript, Missouri Historical Society, Presbyterian Church Envelope. In spite of his determination to avoid teaching he announced in the *Missouri Gazette,* February 15, 1817, that he and his wife proposed soon to open a school at St. Charles.

These founders of new schools, for the most part, advertise themselves from London, Paris, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and have all performed exploits in the regions whence they came, and bring the latest improvements with them. As to what they can do, and what they will do, the object is to lay on the colouring thick and threefold. A respectable man wishes to establish himself in a school in those regions. He consults a friend, who knows the meridian of the country. The advice is, Call your school by some new and imposing name. Let it be understood, that you have a new way of instructing children, by which they can learn twice as much, in half the time, as by the old ways. Throw off all modesty. Move the water, and get in while it is moving. In short, depend upon the *gullibility* of the people. A school, modelled on this advice, was instituted at St. Louis, while I was there, with a very imposing name. The masters,—professors, I should say,—proposed to teach most of the languages, and all the sciences. Hebrew they would communicate in twelve lessons; Latin and Greek, with a proportionate promptness. These men, who were to teach all this themselves, had read Erasmus with a translation, and knew the Greek alphabet, and in their public discourses,—for they were ministers,—sometimes dealt very abusively with the "king's English.[27]

It is possible that some of this diatribe was intended for his former partner Sawyer; it is even more clear that much of it was meant for his missionary rivals, the Baptists, Peck and Welch, and for the "college" of the Jesuits. Of these, more anon.

The first of the new establishments in 1816 was a "Day & Night School" which Michael Cusake had been "induced by the solicitations of several of his friends" to open in St. Louis. Reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, English grammar, the theory of surveying, including "trigometry, hights and distances" were the subjects he expected to teach.[28]

More imposing was the school to be opened in October by the Rev. Mr. Giddings who, according to a card in the *Missouri Gazette,* was "known to be a scholar as well as a gentleman of correct habits."[29] More than seven months later we read that Giddings, "having procured a convenient house, will give every attention to the instruction of youths, which may be placed under his care." Being something of a universal genius, apparently, he

---

[27] *Recollections of Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi. . . .* Cincinnati, 1826, 185-187.

[28] *Missouri Gazette,* September 14, 1816.

[29] *Missouri Gazette,* October 12, 1816. In his journal Giddings noted that he "commenced school in St. Louis on Wednesday, 4th of December, 1816"; "Memoir of Rev. Salmon Giddings," *The Missouri Presbyterian Recorder,* I, No. 5, St. Louis, September 1855, p. 131.

"will instruct in all branches of science taught in any of the colleges in the United States." His fees were to be four dollars the quarter "for those who are only learning to spell; five dollars for reading and writing, and six dollars for all the higher branches of education."[30]

Early in the next year we find him venturing into coeducation, for he proposed a "school for young ladies and gentlemen . . . at his house on the hill." He assured parents that "every attention will be paid to the improvement and morals of youth." By mid-summer he made further changes in his establishment. He had then "a gentleman of liberal education, as an assistant, who has been for some time a preceptor in a distinguished academy at the eastward and who is highly recommended"; he proposed, therefore, to organize his school "on the plan of the best regulated academies." By way of elaboration he explained that "those students who are pursuing the higher branches of education will be in a separate room with an instructor, that they may not be interrupted by younger scholars. The advantages of such an institution judiciously arranged are obvious." Here "all branches of literature" would be taught on request and "every effort will be made to improve the students in science and strict attention paid to their morals." Prices now were to be "in the lower school as formerly. In the grammar school seven dollars per quarter, for English studies, and eight dollars for languages and higher branches of Mathematics."[31]

The next public notice reaffirmed all that had been announced before, but added that the price for small scholars would hereafter be six dollars per quarter and that for all students there would be an extra charge for wood "which, however, will be trifling to each student." In April of this year he announced the continuation of his school and declared that he had established also "a separate department for young Ladies, who will be under the particular care of an approved instructress." Tuition prices varied once more: he now charged ten dollars per quarter for languages, eight dollars for geography, English grammar, and the higher branches of mathematics, seven dollars for writing

---

[30] *Missouri Gazette,* May 31, 1817. On May 1 he had bought from James Sawyer a house and lot for $1,080. Though the advertisement does not mention it, he was not teaching by himself, for in his journal for January 26, 1817 he wrote: "Mrs. Richards commences teaching school with me," *Memoir,* 132.

[31] *Missouri Gazette,* January 3, July 3, 1818.

and arithmetic, and six dollars for "all others." It is interesting to discover, too, that he would deduct ten per cent for cash.[32]

In 1817 three more schools were started. The first of the advertisements announced in English and in French that Robert S. Lett had opened an academy on Front Street next to Wilt's store and opposite Yosti's. There he offered tuition in "Reading, Writing, Drawing, Geography, use of the Globes, History and Philosophy—English, French and Latin—Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Navigation, &C. &c. Also Book-keeping by double and single entry."[33]

Henry S. Lee, from Baltimore, proposed to teach both young ladies and gentlemen "Reading, plain and ornamental Penmanship, practical and rational Arithmetic, English Grammar, Composition, Elocution, Geography and Latin." He would provide also a night school where those young men who could not attend in the day would have the "utmost assiduity" paid them. He only awaited an "eligible situation" before opening.[34]

In the fall Hartley Sullivan announced what was practically a business course. For the quarter beginning Monday, October 13, in the house lately occupied by the Rev. Salmon Giddings, he intended to teach

> the following branches of literature, on the following terms: Spelling & Reading, per quarter, $5; Writing, round and Italian hands, with propriety, also plain Arithmetic, $6; Vulgar and decimal Arithmetic, on a superior plan, $7; Stereometry and Gauging in all its various forms, $8; Book-keeping, by double entry, $10.

In addition to the customary assurance about moral care and exertion over studies, Sullivan pointed out to a discerning public "the salubrity of that quarter of the town, where the school house is located.[35]

In this year, too, we hear of the opening of a new dancing school by Durocher. There is no detail of news concerning his class, but we do find him active in other years. For a time, at least, in 1818 he taught dancing at Mme. Perdreauville's school

---

[32] *Missouri Gazette,* January 8, April 7, 1819. Salmon Giddings was born at Hartford, Connecticut, March 2, 1782, educated at Union College and Andover Theological Seminary, and ordained in 1814. He came to St. Louis April 6, 1816 and died there February 15, 1828. Consult Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis,* Philadelphia, 1883, II, 1698-1702; a rather long sketch of Giddings, "By One Who Knew Him," will be found in the *Missouri Republican,* April 19, 1852.

[33] *Missouri Gazette,* May 31, 1817.

[34] *Missouri Gazette,* August 2, 1817.

[35] *Missouri Gazette,* November 1, 1817.

for young ladies. That he continued to instruct is clear from the announcement of his "Benefit and concluding Ball, which, "with additional music," was to be held on Tuesday, January 26, 1819. We read that he gave "particular invitations to those ladies only who have received season tickets, & hopes that they will not fail to favor him with their company that night." He intended to continue to give lessons and would attend at ladies houses.[36]

Early in 1818 the *Missouri Gazette* congratulated the people of St. Louis on the present state of education. "The state of religion and the want of schools has been long lamented by the thinking part of the population of this territory," it declared editorially. "Now an opportunity offers by the recent arrival of men of piety and learning, men who devoted themselves to the cause of the gospel and 'to teach the young idea how to shoot.' Almost every denomination, of christian, Catholick, Presbyterian, Baptist & Methodist, have now their teachers, and it requires only a benign sentiment, and a zealous regard for the welfare of the rising generation to contribute generously to the erection of temples dedicated to worship and halls of learning."[37] One of these groups was that of Baptist missionaries led by John Mason Peck and James E. Welch.

On December 1, 1817 Peck arrived in St. Louis; Welch, with some of the others, had arrived a week before and had hired for school purposes a room behind a store. For this room, fourteen feet by sixteen, they paid fourteen dollars per month.[38] The first advertisement announced the opening of the school for January 1, 1818 and offered the usual elementary subjects. The first quarter closed on March 25 and the new quarter was elaborately advertised to begin on April 6. The school "under the direction and patronage of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States" was now known as the Western Mission Academy. It was to be housed in "a commodious and airy room" in a "new frame house near Mr. Pitzer's brick livery stable on the hill." The lower division of students would be taught

Reading, orthography, with the definition of words, English grammar, writing, arithmetic, composition, book-keeping by single and double entry, geography with the drawing of maps, oratory, history

[36] *Missouri Gazette,* October 25, 1817, September 18, 1818, January 15, 1819. In Paxton's *Directory* (1821) I find an Auguste Durocher, tavern-keeper, 205 North Main; whether this was the same man I do not know.

[37] *Missouri Gazette,* January 23, 1818.

[38] Rufus Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life—Memoir of John Mason Peck, D. D., edited from his Journals and Correspondance,* Philadelphia, 1864, 83, 84-85.

combined with chronology, &c. . . . The rudiments of the following branches will be taught. Natural and moral philosophy, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, natural history, including botany, or the knowledge and classification of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, astronomy, &c. &c.

Besides all these regular lessons the student would benefit from "familiar lectures . . . explanatory of many important and useful subjects." Indeed, parents and other interested persons were invited to visit the school on Friday afternoons when, in addition to the satisfaction they might obtain from "the examination of the scholars in the lessons of the week," they would be edified by a lecture delivered by the Superintendent on "some interesting subject of science." For the present season Peck would superintend the school with the aid of one or more assistants as the school increased. They expected to make this a "permanent and respectable seminary," should they get support from the citizens, and, furthermore, they hoped to establish at some future time a separate department for young ladies "who may wish to acquire the different branches of a useful, polite, and ornamental education." Manners and morals would have the usual care: "every exertion [would be] made to inform the mind, and regulate the conduct to virtuous habits." Their rates were a trifle lower than those of some schools; for reading and orthography, five dollars; for writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, &c., six dollars; students desiring to begin Latin, Greek, or Hebrew or the higher sciences were to make private bargains.[39]

The full contribution of Peck to educational activities in St. Louis was made clear by a notice immediately following the school advertisement. "To the ladies and gentlemen . . . desirous of acquiring the knowledge, and mode of classifying the vegetable kingdom" he offered a course of lectures on the "elementary principles of botany. . . . To the patronage of the ladies, especially, is this delightful and instructive science recommended." That he obtained the "competent number of subscribers . . . to justify the expense" seems unlikely, for in mid-April he announced in the press the first of the general series of Friday public lectures which he had promised. On the 17th, at 4 P. M. he opened the course of scientific lectures with one on astronomy. Other lectures in the series were concerned with

[39] *Missouri Gazette,* December 27, 1817, March 27, 1818.

geography and zoology.[40] Presently the citizenry was invited to attend the public examinations at the close of the second quarter, and the public was also reminded that, though books and stationary were furnished at Philadelphia prices, they must be paid for upon delivery. For the new quarter, to commence July 6, an "able assistant" had been employed.[41]

For nearly a year there is a break in the history of this school. In April 1819, however, we discover J. M. Peck and James Craig opening a school in St. Charles, Missouri. The Western Mission Academy, continued under the superintendence of the Rev. James E. Welch, suggested that "a few pupils may find admittance" at its school next door to the St. Louis Bank, for the new quarter. One of the pupils now attending was J. B. Charbonneau, the half-breed son of Toussaint Charbonneau, interpreter for Lewis and Clark. For the last two quarters of 1819 and the first of 1820, William Clark, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, paid Welch $24.75 to cover tuition, firewood, and ink.[42] In October Welch, with whom was now linked a man named Hinkley, announced an evening school at the Baptist Vestry Room; he thought that "Gentlemen who have apprentices to educate will, no doubt, avail themselves of this opportunity." A year later Peck announced that he was once more teaching school in the vestry room of the Baptist Church; "every scholar to furnish his proportion of fuel." Once more, too, he undertook the general education of the public through lectures in the public room of the church. The course of twelve, which apparently surveyed all ancient and modern history, was offered for five dollars. The closing lecture of this series, that on the early history of North America and the United States, was delivered on March 31, 1821.[43]

The new offerings in 1819 increased both in number and variety. A. C. Van Hirtum, "Organ Factor and Professor of Music, late from Amsterdam" in January notified "the lovers of music," that he was prepared to teach them "FORTE PIANO." Information concerning his moral character prospective patrons could obtain from Bishop DuBourgh; his professional capacity would

---

[40] *Missouri Gazette,* March 27, April 17, May 1, May 8, May 29, 1818.

[41] *Missouri Gazette,* June 26, 1818.

[42] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* II, 291. "For boarding, lodging, and washing of J. B. Charbonneau, a half-Indian, from 1st January to 31st March, 1820" L. T. Honoré received $45. For the history of the Charbonneau family consult Stella M. Drumm (editor), *Luttig's Journal,* St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1920, 132-140.

[43] *Missouri Gazette,* April 7, April 21, October 13, 1819, November 22, December 20, 1820, March 31, 1821.

be illustrated by the satisfaction that he would give his employers. For twelve "tickets" he asked eight dollars. In an advertisement a week later he informed the public that he had an excellent piano and that "a large collection of Music and Musical Instruments [is] expected shortly." He would teach the clarionet, too. On May 22 he thanked the citizens of St. Louis for their encouragement and informed them that "besides the theory and practice of the Piano" he would also teach "composition, and the method of correcting and making accompaniments for almost every musical instrument." He announced, too, that "pianofortes, music, music paper and strings, may be shortly expected from Lexington," and, in addition to dealing in such supplies, he would tune pianos. Furthermore, he proposed to give a public concert as soon as he could secure the cooperation of the amateurs of the town. To those pupils who had no piano at home he would give lessons in his room at Mr. Chenie's. Our remaining notice of Van Hirtum gives us a fairly complete idea of the store he ran as a sideline:

> The admirers of the Arts are respectfully informed that A. C. Van Hirtum has just received, and has for sale, a most elegant ASTROLABE with a prospective glass, compass needle, transporter, &c. all in complete order, calculated for the use of surveyors and mapmakers. An elegant painting, representing a lady playing on the Mandolina, executed by one of the first artists in the Netherlands. Several very fine drawings from the hands of the best artists of the Academy of Antwerp. Also a number of Box-Organs each calculated to play several tunes.[44]

In March of that year Mrs. Peerce opened a school for young ladies in the house of Mme. La Case on Second Street. Book-learning there seemed to be limited to reading and writing, but in addition she would teach the "various kinds of needlework, viz. Counterpanes, Ladies dresses, Caps, Handkerchiefs, Toilets and Samplers of the latest fashions." Her terms were five dollars per quarter for "all the branches."[45]

Mrs. Peerce soon found stiff competition in the Young Ladies Academy opened by Mme. Perdreauville. This woman, the wife of an exiled French Baron, had attractions for the elite that the other could not have had and furthermore she offered a much wider range of studies. In addition to the usual elementary sub-

[44] *Missouri Gazette,* January 16, January 23 (he was then living at Mr. Maury's and would teach at the "corner house attached to the Gazette"), June 5, August 7, 1818.

[45] *Missouri Gazette,* March 6, 1818. The opening day was to be March 15.

jects (including sacred and profane history, geography, grammar, and arithmetic) she, too, taught all kinds of needlework in the house of Mr. Tesson on the hill. In her second notice Mme. Perdreauville listed two further attractions: young ladies could now have lessons in music, both vocal and instrumental, and they could also have instruction in dancing. For the latter instruction Mme. Perdreauville had engaged M. Durocher of whom we have previous acquaintance. The history of the Perdreauville family in St. Louis was marked by the marriage of Marie Antoinette Adèle, the older daughter, to J. P. B. Gratiot. In 1820 the family moved to New Orleans.[46]

The next establishment was one of the most important, for in some sense at least it can be regarded as the forerunner of St. Louis University. On October 23, 1818 the *Missouri Gazette* carried an announcement that "The Rev. Mr. Niel, assisted by three other Clergymen, under the auspices and superintendence of the Right Rev. Bishop Du Bourg will open on the 16th November next, in the house of Mr. Alvarez, Church street, an Academy for young Gentlemen." It began in slightly more imposing style than most schools for "none will be received before he can read at least tolerably well." The course was to consist of "the Latin, English and French languages, Arithmetic, the Elements of Mathematics and Geography, according to the ability of the pupil and the intention of the parents." Terms were twelve dollars per quarter payable in advance. Books and stationery the parents must provide and "each pupil must have a bag to bring in and carry out his books, for the eventual loss of which the masters do not hold themselves answerable."

Frequent notices of this school appear during the next several years. Late in the winter we read that Niel "has secured the co-operation of an able English tutor, late a student of Maynooth College, for the teaching of the English language, Practical Arithmetic, and Book-Keeping." In September the public was informed that the Academy would re-open on the 15th. Two parts of the announcement are of special interest. In addition to the usual pledge for the moral and literary improvement of pu-

[46] *Missouri Gazette,* September 11 (notice in English and French); September 18, 1818, November 24, 1819; Billon, *Annals, 1804-1821,* 313-314. The Baron René de Perdreauville in his youth had been page to Marie Antoinette and eventually, returning to France sometime after the Terror, had been *gouverneur des pages* for Napoleon. At the fall of the Emperor he came to America. For a time in New Orleans he taught school and later was associated with different newspapers in that city. For him see Edward Laroque Tinker, *Les Ecrits de langue française en Louisiane,* Paris, Champion, 1932, 374.

pils, Niel declared that "a due sense of religion, the foundation of all morality, will be by them [the masters] indefatigably inculcated, but without any interference with the peculiar tenets of such as might be attached to persuasions different from that of their instructors." Now, too, the head of the school took the opportunity to announce that he was "laying the foundation of a college, where he expects to be able to accomodate a number of boarders as early as the beginning of November next." On November 8 he gave notice that the St. Louis Academy was ready to receive boarders. Among those attending was Toussaint Charbonneau, another half-Indian child of the interpreter. Either for this child or for Jean Baptist who was attending Welch's school the Indian Office at St. Louis purchased "a Roman History ($1.50), two quires of paper and quills ($1.50), one Scott's Lessons ($1.50), one dictionary ($1.50), one ciphering book ($1), and one slate and pencils ($.62)."[47] When the St. Louis College, as it was next designated, was about to reopen on September 1, 1820, the card said that "a few more boarders can be accomodated." In the fall of this year a course of lectures, in French, for grown-up young gentlemen only, was to be given by the College.[48]

In the fall of 1818, too, the growth of the town and of the west in general was illustrated by the establishment of two specialized places. On October 26 Deneumoulin gave notice that he had opened, at Mr. Chenie's on Main Street, an "Academy of Architecture, where the fine Arts of Drawing will be taught by him, on the most reasonable terms." He was willing also to give private lessons away from the school.[49] On November 10 a man named Frewin started an "Evening Architectural Drawing Academy" in a "commodious, warm apartment in the stone house opposite Col. Easton's" and for support he depended upon the "patronage of the mechanics of St. Louis, and those who wish to acquire a competent knowledge of the useful science of architectural drawing."[50]

The last of the schools on the list for this year was a mathematical institution to be opened by Otis Turner and Warren

---

[47] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* II, 291. The fee paid to Father Niel was twelve dollars. Among other items purchased from J. & G. H. Kennerly for Charbonneau were socks, shoes (2 pair), a hat, and six yards of corduroy.

[48] *Missouri Gazette,* March 10, September 11, December 15, 1819, August 23, November 22, 1820.

[49] *Missouri Gazette,* November 6, 1818.

[50] *Missouri Gazette,* November 13, 1818.

Hunt of December 7. In a house belonging to Mr. Potter, on Church Street, they proposed to teach "Common Arithmetic, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Mensuration, &c with Geometrical and Arithmetical calculations; likewise, Practical Astronomy with the use of Mathematical instruments applied thereto. Also, Architectural Drawing, Perspective Drawing, shading of all kinds, Landscapes, in their true colors, &c."[51]

In 1819 fewer schools were started; obviously there must have been a saturation point. A Mrs. Love planned to open on March 15 a school for girls in which she would teach the usual spelling and reading, history and geography, with an emphasis on needlework of every description.[52] In June a Mr. and Mrs. Hinkley rented the house north of Will Carr's and started a "Seminary for instruction in the different branches of an English education, and plain and fancy needlework." Although this place was, of course, for girls, "small boys from 3 to 6 years of age, will be admitted." Their school was probably not successful, for in September a card informed the public that "Mr. Hinkley, having taken the house lately occupied by Mr. Mullet [?], can accomodate six or eight gentlemen with board and lodging." That he had not entirely given up the idea of teaching we have already seen in his evening school partnership with James Welch.[53] One other notice remains anonymous and the enterprise was probably abortive, for no further word was published concerning it. In the *Missouri Gazette* of September 29, 1819, we read that

> A Person who has been in the habit of teaching in some of the first institutions both in Europe and America, would take charge of a School on a liberal plan, for twelve months, commencing on the 1st of November next. As to character and ability, unquestionable references can be given. A line addressed to A. B. and left at that office will be attended to.

The Kaskaskia paper was asked to run the same notice.

During this year we note another school of music. In an announcement both complacent and patronizing S. Willson declared that "feeling ever anxious to improve society by all means within his power, [he] proposes to the citizens of St. Louis, as one

---

[51] *Missouri Gazette,* December 4, 1818.
[52] *Missouri Gazette,* March 10, 1819.
[53] *Missouri Gazette,* June 2, September 18, October 13, 1819. This may have been the same person as the C. A. Hinkley who advertised a bookbindery and pocketbook manufactory in the *Missouri Gazette,* April 4, 1821.

step towards it, to teach vocal Music." He already had enough subscribers to begin and now suggested that "those who would wish to improve themselves in this science . . . attend on Saturday evening, 30 inst. at the Baptist Meeting-house."[54] In the art of the dance, too, the season offered the services of John Boudon for one quarter with the promise that, if he should be sufficiently encouraged, he would continue his class. Young ladies might have lessons at home. "Many new and fashionable Cotillions and Figures will be taught." The class was to be held on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday each week and the cost was twelve dollars for the quarter, half in advance.[55]

Four educational establishments with one of music and one of dancing form the new crop in 1820. First in the year came Patrick Sullivan who determined to teach "the Greek and Latin Languages, English Grammer &c." in a schoolroom at Mrs. Benoit's on Main Street. Prospective patrons were invited to attend recitations at the school. As a further indication of his worthiness, Sullivan published a testimonial letter by the Rev. John Ward, Dr. Zeno Fenn, and Horatio Cozens, a lawyer.

> We have listened with considerable interest and satisfaction to your reading the Greek and Latin Languages—and are fully satisfied with the taste and judgment you evinced in teaching the same—are gratified to learn that you are offering your services to the citizens of St. Louis, and wish, Sir, that you may receive a patronage that shall equal your useful undertaking.

For a time in 1820 Sullivan served as professor of ancient languages in the Catholic College, but the next year we read of him holding school in the "house next to, and nearly confronting the old gaol." His terms for Greek and Latin were now ten dollars per quarter, for English Grammar, eight dollars and for "juvenile classes" six dollars.[56]

In January also Miss P. Le Favre announced the opening on February 1 of her academy for young ladies. Her notice, in English and French, offered the "French and English languages by principles; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History and Mythology"—likewise all kinds of needlework. A year and a half later she informed the public that she then had room for five or six more young ladies, that her price for reading only was six dollars per quarter and for

---

[54] *Missouri Gazette,* October 27, 1819.
[55] *Missouri Gazette,* October 27, 1819.
[56] *Missouri Gazette,* January 19, 1820, July 4, 1821; Billon, *Annals, 1804-1821,* 81.

all other subjects nine dollars, and that parents might call upon her at Mr. Tesson's, No. 50 Main Street.[58]

Presently Edmund M'Manus respectfully proposed a "juvenile school" where he would teach "sundry branches of an English Education . . . on the most moderate terms." His school was to be held "in the upper part of Mr. Papin's stone house, now occupied by Mr. Russell, and next door to Mr. M'Guires' on Main Street."[58]

Late in the year a Mrs. Gay offered to teach young ladies. Of her history at this time I know nothing. A year later, however, she was teaching in partnership with a man named Wilson. Their school, advertised as the St. Louis Academy, was "to be under the semi-annual examination of the Trustees of the public school lands in St. Louis." We discover that "the teachers instruct the youth of both sexes in all the useful and ornamental branches of education usually taught in seminaries of this kind in different parts of the United States." Tuition was payable half in advance at the following rates: Latin and Greek, eight dollars per quarter; English grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, astronomy, plain and ornamental needlework, seven dollars; reading and spelling, five dollars. Apparently they did a fair business, for this notice was run again four months later.[59]

The two special schools must have a word. A. D. Curden offered to teach the theory and practice of vocal music on Tuesdays and Fridays in the Baptist Church beginning May 30; apparently there were two sessions: 3 P. M. and Candlelight.[60] Henry Guibert proposed a dancing school to begin November 23.[61]

In 1821 St. Louis enjoyed a sort of coming of age. The state was admitted to the Union; the town had grown during its territorial years from one thousand to more than five thousand population; the first directory, the first book of poems, the first play were published. It is a conveniently important year in

---

[57] *Missouri Gazette,* January 26, 1820; *St. Louis Enquirer,* August 25, 1821 (notice also in French).

[58] *Missouri Gazette,* April 12, 1820.

[59] *Missouri Gazette,* November 22, 1820; *St. Louis Enquirer,* October 6, 1821, January 12, 1822. Agnes P. Gay (who, Billon informs us, was a widow from the east, with two children—*Annals, 1804-1821,* 346) married Josiah Spalding, attorney of St. Louis, on Wednesday, April 2, 1823, *Missouri Republican,* April 9, 1823 and died forty-four years later, some years after her husband. The administrator of her estate gave bond for $50,000, *Saint Louis Probate Court Records,* No. 7107.

[60] *Missouri Gazette,* May 31, 1820.

[61] *Missouri Gazette,* November 22, 1820.

which to bring to a close this survey of private schools. Paxton, editor of the *Directory* of 1821 and author of the "Notes on St. Louis" that formed its introduction, pointed out that the town now contained "ten common schools" in addition to St. Louis College. There was no dearth of educational possibilities. Of the most imposing institution he wrote that the St. Louis College under the direction of Bishop Du Bourg "is a two-story brick building, and has about sixty-five students, who are taught the Greek, Latin, French, English, Spanish and Italian languages, mathematics, elementary and transcendent, drawing, &c. There are several teachers." Divinity, oriental languages and philosophy were taught at the Catholic Seminary at the Barrens.[62] From the *Directory* I assemble the following faculty list for the College "on south Church street below Market": the Reverend Francis Niel, principal and curate of the Cathedral; Samuel Smith, professor of languages; the Rev. Andreas Ferrary, professor of ancient languages and director of the St. Louis College; the Rev. Leo Deys, professor of languages and director of the St. Louis College; the Rev. Aristides Anduze, professor of special mathematics and director of the St. Louis College; Patrick Sullivan, professor of ancient languages; Michael G. Saulnier, professor of languages; Francis M. Guyol, professor of writing and drawing;[63] John Martin, prefect of studies.[64]

In addition to those already listed Paxton included in the *Directory* eleven other teachers. Five of these are familiar names. There was Jean Baptiste Trudeau who had come to St. Louis in 1774 and had taught there ever since. His, no doubt, was the French school to which Brackenridge referred in 1810. Still teaching, too, were the Rev. Salmon Giddings, Miss P. Le Favre, and Agnes Gay. The Moses E. Wilson listed as a teacher must have been the man noted above as Mrs. Gay's partner.

---

[62] As quoted in R. Edwards, *The Great West,* St. Louis, 1860, 324.

[63] Guyol announced in 1821 that he would begin teaching the French language as soon as ten scholars applied; terms twelve dollars per quarter, *St. Louis Enquirer,* April 28, 1821. What relation this had to his work at the College I do not know.

[64] Other notices of the St. Louis College can be found in the *St. Louis Enquirer,* April 19, 1823; *Missouri Republican,* August 20, October 15, December 24, 1823. Elihu Shepard joined the teaching staff in 1823 and taught in the College for three years; consult his *Autobiography,* St. Louis, 1869, 98-105. The College was discontinued in 1827. For the history of St. Louis College see G. J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits in the Middle United States,* New York, 1938, I, 271-273; W. H. W. Fanning, "Historical Sketch of St. Louis University, St. Louis University *Bulletin,* December 1908, 6-12. For the early history of St. Louis University see Garraghan, I, Chapter IX.

Three other teachers, for whom I found no advertisements, were William Macklin, Zebulon Pendleton, and Francis Rochford. To these add Mrs. Snow, "teacher of females," also Maurice Laurent. In a newspaper advertisement the latter had been introduced to St. Louisans as "possessing the exclusive privilege in the state of Missouri, of a new method of teaching the art of writing called 'TACHYGRAPHY,' invented by Mr. Sprangh . . . he engages to rectify the worst writing in the short space of six days."[65] Last, but not least imposing, is the name of Francis Regnier, teacher of French. On September 5 he referred to the school which he had opened the previous February in Mr. Didier's house on Church Street and informed his public that he was now living in the house formerly occupied by F. M. Guyol, in the same street, "where he continues teaching Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic by demonstration." Because he has been so favored by the public, he continued, he had recently made a special arrangement with Messrs. Sullivan and Duvelus in order that henceforth the Greek, Latin, and English languages as well as bookkeeping shall also be taught in his seminary. Furthermore, "his house enables him to receive children of both sexes in commodious and separate apartments." Tuition was to be proportioned to the "age, proficiency, and disposition" of the pupils and boarders would be received on very moderate terms. The school was open from 9 A. M. till noon and from 2 P. M. to 5 P. M. "In the summer season the regulations will be varied." In addition to the subjects already named he would give the elements of history, mythology, geography, and other sciences; also private lessons in French or English. In a separate notice he proclaimed his intention to devote his leisure hours from 5 to 7 P. M. "to the instruction of such gentlemen as may feel an avidity to acquire a satisfactory radical knowledge as well of the French and English Languages, as of Arithmetic, Book-keeping, &c. His apartment is comfortable, and well adapted to the contemplated purpose." He gave assurance that "in the prosecution of his literary occupations, his primary object shall be, to impart as well to his night as to his day scholars an education rather substantial than ostentatious." As soon as he had sufficient pupils he would hold class every night except Saturday and for this would charge $2.50 in advance.[66]

---

[65] *St. Louis Enquirer,* February 3, 1821; notice also in French. He gave his residence as at Mr. Millaudon's on Main Street.

[66] *Missouri Gazette,* September 5 (notice also in French), September 26, 1821.

From this survey of private schools it will be obvious that St. Louisans during the territorial days were not suffering for want of a chance at education. None of these schools became permanent but most of them ran more than the year in which they first appear on record, and perhaps one reason why they did not enjoy greater permanence was the number of them in relation to the number of possible scholars. It must be remembered, too, that for the wealthier families they had to compete with schools in Montreal, Quebec, New Orleans, Bardstown (Kentucky), West Point, and other places in the eastern states. If the courses appear primitive to us today, if the qualifications of the teachers are not always obvious, they would bear comparison with such schools elsewhere in their own day. St. Louis was a small town on the edge of civilization, but it did not lack for teachers of the young.

JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician

Perhaps more important than any of the Jesuit missionary's other non-religious functions was his performance in the rôle of physician to the Spaniards and Indians who resided in his mission district.[1] Father Pfefferkorn's observations about the care of the sick and about the sicknesses found among Sonorans, reveal him to have been a man who combined in varying proportions a pseudo-scientific knowledge of illnesses and their cures with an eminently "common sense" practicality.

The plant and mineral kingdoms of Sonora were believed to contain countless healing materials and antidotes for a wide variety of maladies and poisons. There is at least the implication in Pfefferkorn's description of these medicaments that in Sonora God had been particularly beneficent in compensating for the lack of "doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries" with a plentiful supply of health promoting agencies.

The juice of *mescal* leaves was considered an infallible antiscorbutic; the root of the same plant healed wounds, while spirits distilled from the root were used as a stomach tonic. With mescal spirits Pfefferkorn cured his own stomach, which had been unsettled for six months. Spaniards who had the equipment for the distillation of mescal spirits charged an exorbitant price for the liquid.

The *chicamilla,* a small, beet-like root, possessed a skin, or bark, which could be used both as a laxative and as an emetic, depending, it was said, on whether the bark was stripped up or down the plant. Excessive effects were mitigated by a dose of cold maize porridge. The *peonilla* or *peonia,* a very small root, boiled in water or pulverized served as a stomach tonic. Still another root, the *jaramatraca,* was revered as a "miracle root" and applied in various ways constituted a cure for such assorted maladies as stomach ailments, ague, diarrhoea, nose bleed, and

[1] Unless otherwise indicated by footnote this account is derived from Ignaz Pfefferkorn, S. J., *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland, nebst einer Landcharte von Sonora,* Köln am Rheine, 1794-1795, 2 vols. For a more complete description of this work see my "Father Pfefferkorn and His Description of Sonora," MID-AMERICA, XX (October 1938), 229-252. The missionary labored in the land below the Gila and Colorado rivers for the eleven years preceding the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.

toothache. It was employed also as an antidote for poisons, either from stings and bites of noxious animals or from poisoned arrows. Pfefferkorn doubted the more extravagant claims made for the jaramatraca but writes that probably no household was without its supply of this root, regarded almost as a holy relic. A firm believer in the healing powers of the jaramatraca was Juan de Mendoza, Governor of Sonora, 1755 to 1760. Pfefferkorn says of him:

> There was no better way to gain [Mendoza's] favor than to tell him, or deceive him, about some cure this root had worked. The good man believed everything without question. He was later [probably 1760][2] shot by the Seri with a poisoned arrow, and died from the wound. . . . So at that time his "miracle root" must either have been powerless or very ungrateful to its zealous encomiast.

The *contra-yerba* was noted as an uncommonly effective antidote for the bites and stings of poisonous animals; the *mataduras* or wound-herb, healed saddle burns. The *toloache* was made use of a poultice or as a habit-forming drug. In its latter effect the Sonora natives utilized this plant for vanquishing their enemies. The *pasmo* herb cured nervous twitchings; the *anis* herb moderated fevers, and so made bleeding unnecessary. A kind of field-rose, the *chayotillo* flower, was applied as an emetic, though because of its extreme efficacy chayotillo decoctions were given in very small quantities. Other plants and herbs mentioned by Pfefferkorn served purposes similar to those mentioned above.

One of the more interesting remedies was Sonora gum, or rubber, the effectiveness of which as a remedy for hematemesis was apparently discovered by Pfefferkorn, in the 1760's.[3] Pfefferkorn describes the gum as a "transparent, reddish-yellow resin, which is exuded from the twigs of a common bush." Since the gum was soluble in water, it had to be collected before the beginning of the rainy season in July. "Sonora gum" was so called

---

[2] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States, 1531-1880,* San Francisco, 1884, I, 556 and footnote 10. Bancroft states that the only details of the governor's death are given in Alegre, *Hist. Comp. Jesus,* III, 298, wherein it is explained that on November 25, 1760, Mendoza with a hundred men cornered a band of nineteen Seri Indians near Saracachi, and that the governor was struck by an arrow "discharged by the dying [Seri] chieftain." Pfefferkorn says that in 1761 the governor and some soldiers were attempting to capture a band of Seri horse thieves, that the Seri Indians greatly outnumbered the Spaniards, routed the latter, and that the governor, though only superficially wounded by an arrow later died from the terrible Seri poison.

[3] Pfefferkorn calls Sonora gum, *gomilla de Sonora.*

because it was found only in Sonora, and there, only in the southwest section.[4] Pfefferkorn states, further:

It was still unknown in Mexico City in 1764. I sent the first report of it there, and sent at the same time some of the rubber. The approval which it gained for itself in that city is evident from the fact that in the following year I was urgently requested to send as much as I could possibly get.

When it is dissolved in water and swallowed, this rubber is an excellent remedy for hemorrhages and bleeding. Even after the first swallow the patient is sometimes comforted, and the illness must be very stubborn if it proves necessary to take this drink three or four times. Here I refer in part to trustworthy testimony of very credible people, and in part to my own experience. After my return from America, while in Spain I made the last test with it. A friend of mine, an officer of a Swiss regiment, had such a severe hemorrhage that the skilled doctor in the port of Santa María at Cádiz seven times prescribed opening a vein for him. But this terrible butchery could not stop the hematemesis. I sent him a small piece of this rubber which one of my traveling companions had brought along. The officer took it on my recommendation and was well on the same day.

Here, Pfefferkorn takes occasion to criticize the Spaniards for failing to exploit the medicinal properties of herbs found in Sonora. He remarks:

It is in truth to be regretted that this remedy [Sonora gum], as well as many other very valuable ones, with which Sonora is enriched by nature, is not made known more widely in the world. This is no work for a missionary, who, far from having the time to undertake such labor, is kept busy almost beyond his strength with the care of the bodies and souls of his Indians. Skilled men, well-versed in this branch of learning, must be commissioned to write a detailed description of all such healing remedies after industrious investigation and exact observation. However, that is too much to ask of the Spaniards.

Sonora gum was useful also as a remedy for hydrophobia, though a draught of monks' rhubarb was even better in such cases. The rather indefinite description of monks' rhubarb given

[4] See also *Aus dem Tagebuch des mexicanischen Missionarius Gottfr. Bernh. Middendorff, 1754-1776* (edited in scrap-book form, in the library of the *Ignatiushaus,* Bonn, Germany). Middendorff states: "Sonora gum is a sap which issues through the bark of a particular shrub which is called *torote,* as I remember it. The gum becomes as hard if not harder than resin; when it is crumbled it assumes the hardness of other gum. It is brown in color. If it is dissolved in water, the water becomes reddish in color. A piece the size of a thumb dissolved in water and drunk is a remedy for hematemesis, and I freed myself of this evil with the drink."

in the *Description* suggests inevitably that here the missionary is referring not to a plant or herb but to human excrement.[5] One of Father Pfefferkorn's Indians alone, besides himself, knew the secret of preparing the rhubarb potion. Pfefferkorn states that one time this Indian was saved from madness by partaking of the rhubarb "although he well knew the ingredients of the draught."

Finally, under healing plants and herbs are mentioned *remolino* [probably a kind of moss], which was burned to produce an incense or vapor for the curing of head colds and for purposes of fumigation, and the Puebla herb, used as a laxative. The latter, so named because found in the vicinity of Puebla de los Angeles, was also employed by stockmen to poison predatory animals. The dried plant was grated, mixed with ox-flesh, and hung in the sun for a couple of days. When ready, the preparation was sprinkled in the fields where marauding animals would encounter it. "Once," says Pfefferkorn, "I counted two hundred or more coyotes, two bears, and five wolves, which had thus swallowed death."

The mineral kingdom of Sonora, too, yielded remedies for various ailments. The Seri stone, a green pebble called *chiquiquite* by the Seri Indians, was believed by Sonora Spaniards to aid in arresting hemorrhages. Sonora was deemed fortunate also in that it provided the right conditions for the production of the famous bezoar "stone," a concretion found in the stomach and intestines of certain animals. In Sonora, bezoar was used with happy results "in virulent epidemics, in treating melancholia, and for other things."

Pfefferkorn himself discovered in Sonora a special type of stone known in Spain as the *piedra cuadrada* because of its cubical shape. This stone was prescribed for checking diarrhoea, and even for easing a woman in childbed. While in Spain Pfefferkorn had first learned of the quadrate stones and had later with diffi-

---

[5] See also Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, S. J., *The History of [Lower] California,* translated and edited by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, Stanford University Press, 1937, 393, Appendix A. "Experiments and observations which Father Inamma, a German Jesuit missionary in that peninsula, made on the snakes of that peninsula." P. Clavigero, in a discussion of remedies used in California for snake bite, says that "The most usual and efficacious internal one is *teriaca umana,* or human excrement, which they make the bitten person drink, when it is fresh and dissolved in water. This drink, although loathsome, is taken without repugnance because of love of life; besides, since the people bitten are almost frantic because of confusion and fear, they are not accustomed to notice what is given them, as an Indian bitten by a snake confessed to Father Inamma after his recovery."

culty located some such in Mexico City at the shop of an apothecary who, "out of kindness," sold him one at a reduced price of eight rix-dollars. The stones he subsequently discovered in Sonora were just like the costly stone he had purchased in Mexico and were, as experiments convinced him, fully as efficacious. These native Sonora vegetable and mineral remedies were supplemented for the missionary by medicines sent to him from Mexico City. Medicines are among the items listed by Pfefferkorn in his expense account of purchases made annually by all the Sonora Jesuits through the Jesuit factor, or purchasing agent, who resided in Mexico City.[6]

Final adjunct to the priest's dispensary was a book written by a Moravian Jesuit named Johann Steinefer. This Jesuit lay-brother had been sent from the Bohemian Province to Mexico in 1697. During some nineteen years service in the Mexican missions culminating in his death in Sonora in 1716, he acquired great fame as a surgeon and apothecary. He wrote a medical anthology which he dedicated to all his brother Jesuits, particularly to those who were missionaries in the "provincias remotas." The work, a quarto volume of five hundred and twenty-two pages was first published in Mexico in 1712. Other editions appeared in 1719, 1729, 1732, and 1755; a final edition was printed in 1888.[7] The work dealt specifically with diseases which were endemic to New Spain. Its prescription of household remedies for such maladies made it especially practicable.

To the modern reader it appears that in his description of Sonora illnesses Pfefferkorn does not differentiate between the symptoms and the illnesses themselves. Headache, chills and fever, and sore-throat, are listed in the same category with smallpox and other contagious sicknesses. The most common Sonora ailments Pfefferkorn asserts to be inflammatory fever and ague. The former was believed to be caused by the heat of the sun; hence, foreigners were deemed especially susceptible to it. Ague resulted from drinking unhealthful water; that is, water

[6] See Theodore E. Treutlein, "The Economic Regime of the Jesuit Missions in Eighteenth Century Sonora," *Pacific Historical Review,* VIII (September 1939), 289-300.

[7] Juan de Esteyneffer, S. J., *Florilegio medicinal de todas las enfermedades, sacado de varios, y clasicos authores, para bien de los pobres, y de los que tienen falta de medicos, en particular para las provincias remotas, en donde administran los RR. PP. missioneros de la Compañia de Jesús,* Mexico, 1712. Anton Huonder, S. J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,* Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1899, 116. Huonder speaks of Esteyneffer as Brother Johann Steinefer, a native of Iglau, Moravia, whose medical handbook was printed in Madrid and in Amsterdam, as well as in Mexico.

taken from brooks flowing in swampy ground. There was no ague in southern Sonora where the brooks flowed over gravel and stones, thus purifying themselves. One could contract ague also by allowing rain-soaked clothes to dry on him or by getting his feet wet. Pfefferkorn allowed his feet to hang in the water while crossing a stream and was striken with ague as a consequence. An ague of long duration sometimes degenerated into consumption *(Auszehrung)*.

Among other Sonora sicknesses noted was sore-throat, called by the Spaniards *garrotillo* (quinsy). Lacking timely treatment the afflicted one might choke from this evil. *Empacho* was also much dreaded by the Sonorans. Its cause was indigestion which attacked a stomach weakened by excessive drinking of water during the hot season. The weakened organ then "lacked the strength and warmth necessary to digest foods." The illness progressed from a continuous stomach-ache, accompanied by nausea, to severe diarrhoea.

Inflammatory fevers were frequently accompanied by *pasmo* [convulsions] often in recurrent seizures. Death ensued in severe cases. Sudden attacks of palsy and sometimes blindness resulted from cold air penetrating pores opened by perspiration. This malady, known as *mal aire,* was thought by Pfefferkorn to be the result not so much of the penetration of bad air into one's pores as of the combination of such circumstance with an already weakened condition in the afflicted person. "Otherwise," he adds, "almost no day would pass without revealing one of these tragedies, since in such a warm country one can so easily and quickly expose oneself to this misfortune."

The Sonora natives were apparently a pretty healthy lot. Pfefferkorn writes:

> The Spaniards are much more subject to all these sicknesses and misfortunes than are the Indians. The latter have much sturdier bodies than the Spaniards because they have been hardened against wind and weather from childhood. For the most part, they have clean blood and healthy humors, and because of this they suffer from fewer diseases.
>
> Another circumstance contributing not a little to the Indians' lack of susceptibility to disease is the fact that they are in general free of *lues venerea,* which is very common and widely distributed among all the other classes of people in America.[8] However, this contagion does

[8] Carl Sauer, "Aboriginal Population of Northwestern Mexico," *Ibero-Americana:* 10, University of California Press, 1935, 3, footnote 5. In speaking of sedentary agricultural populations Sauer says: "The only reference

not cause the mischief in America that it does in Europe. Many of those afflicted with it in America are assisted by the mildness of the climate and live for a long time despite their ailing circumstances, unless they are at some time attacked by another serious illness which their weakened constitution and sickly bodies cannot then withstand.

But there were exceptions to the generalization that Indians had greater natural immunity to disease than Spaniards. In 1760, for example, there appeared in Sonora a contagion which seized Indians and Spaniards without distinction. Pfefferkorn describes the course of this sickness in the following words:

The victim at first felt an extraordinary bodily lassitude and a particular decline in spirit. There followed very severe pains in all members and in the head, besides an almost unbearable heaviness and an uncomfortable giddiness. Though fortunately accompanied by only a slight fever this dizziness was such that it was hardly possible for the victim to stand up. All desire to eat and drink departed. It was noticed besides that people who did not give in to the malady but forced themselves to stay on their feet were rid of it in three or four days. Those, on the other hand, who were too soft or too weak to bear up under the indisposition and went to bed had the malady much more severely; they were plagued by it for ten or twelve days or even longer, and were left in such a miserable condition that they did not completely recover for a long time. The number of fatalities, however, was not great; only people who were already weakened either by great age or by some other sickness died.

In 1765 occurred another contagion which spread into Sonora from the "southern part of New Spain." Because the disease appeared in the month of June when the south winds blow, the winds were blamed for its spread.

The contagion announced itself by such severe head and body pains that even the strongest man was unresistingly laid low. There followed a very high fever which in most cases caused delirium. If the patient began to vomit, all hope for his recovery was lost. It was an infallible sign of approaching recovery when blood began to drip from his nose and ears. Those, however, to whom nature denied this outlet were in the most extreme danger, and few such were saved.

I have seen is a remark by Father Pfefferkorn, missionary among the Pima in the mid-eighteenth century, that these Indians had little venereal infection." Pfefferkorn's generalization is interesting in comparison with S. F. Cook's conclusion about venereal disease in Baja California. See "The Extent and Significance of Disease among the Indians of Baja California, 1697-1773," *Ibero-Americana:* 12, University of California Press, 1937, 30. "On the whole it is probably safe to conclude that syphilis did not achieve menacing proportions before 1740, after which time it rapidly attracted the attention of the missionaries."

This contagion caused the death of many people in Sonora; whole families were exterminated, and some villages were almost depopulated.

I was particularly fortunate in that this horrible contagion killed only eighteen persons in my mission. I had the happy thought of refreshing the sick with lemon or orange juice mixed with sugar and water. My idea was prompted by the following incident, which I heard of in 1756 in the city of Mexico. In the capital and surrounding areas there had been some years before such a fearful epidemic that it had in two or three months destroyed eighty thousand people. The doctors did not recognize the sickness; all their knowledge was exhausted, and no remedy had been found to prevent mortality. Finally, they performed an autopsy on one of the deceased and found a fairly large, thick worm in his stomach. They believed they had discovered in this worm the origin of the sickness. Different medicines were poured on the worm, but none killed it. At length a lemon was squeezed on it, and it died in a few moments. Lemon juice was immediately used with the sick, and all recovered. That is the story told me in Mexico. Because I found some similarities in the cases of the two epidemics I was prompted to use the same remedy for my patients, with the assurance that at least it would not be injurious to them. And with my simple remedy I really had the pleasure of curing most of them and finally of curing myself, since I, too, was overcome by the same illness.

Recovery from the foregoing disease was a very slow process accompanied oftentimes by distressing relapses.

The plague most greatly feared was smallpox. Nine or ten years might elapse betwen visitations of the dread epidemic, but when it arrived the population in general, but especially the Indian population, suffered a terrible mortality. The Indians suffered most, it was believed, because the toughness and thickness of their skins hindered the irruption of the pustules and hence caused the retention of poison in the body. Aside from smallpox, inflammatory fever, and ague, Pfefferkorn says "other sicknesses which cause so many deaths in Europe are unknown in Sonora. In the eleven years I knew only one Spaniard to die of dropsy, and he had perhaps brought the basis for the illness with him into the country. No one in Sonora has any idea what gout, sciatica, and apoplexy are."

Various native remedies were prescribed for the above-mentioned sicknesses. Pfefferkorn cured himself of a six months' siege of ague by consuming a large watermelon. Eating of the melon was followed by repeated vomiting and then by recovery. The jaramatraca root was also prescribed as a remedy for ague.

Inflammatory sicknesses were relieved by the anis herb, and also Pfefferkorn records that he cured a Spanish woman of a terrible fever by permitting her to eat a watermelon. His observations are not without scientific caution.

As I sat at her bedside to hear her confession, the almost burning heat which was enervating her became unbearable to me and made it necessary for me to move my chair somewhat from her bed. At the end of the confession I learned from her that an old woman to whom much knowledge about healing the sick was ascribed had brought various hot drinks to her, just as though one would wish to extinguish fire with oil. Certainly, it was a wonder that the poor sick woman still lived.

By chance I saw a splendid watermelon in the room and asked her if she did not wish to eat some of it. With a fervent sigh she expressed her desire for it, at the same time her fear of cooling things. I relieved her of the fear the old quack had instilled in her and gave her just as much of the melon as she wished. After she had eaten with relish somewhat more than half of it, she was cheerful and felt that the terrible fever was broken. Some days later the fever disappeared and the outcome showed that my advice had not been harmful. However, it is not my purpose to mention the watermelon as a trustworthy remedy for fevers. I would only make myself ridiculous in the eyes of the doctors. Yet this incident does prove that melons are cooling, an effect which is beneficial in many sicknesses.

Sore-throat was cured by the use of a thick maize poultice. *Empacho* was "driven away" by partaking a draught composed of a small amount of indigo dissolved in urine. For convulsions, a decoction of the *yerba del pasmo* was prescribed. *Mal aire* was treated by placing the patient in a well-protected room where no draughts could reach him. Then a perspiration was induced in him by warming the room, covering him heavily with warm covers, and forcing him to drink large amounts of a tea made of pasmo roots. Meanwhile, the room was fumigated with *remolino*. The *hedionda* or stinking herb, noted for its vile odor, was used for worming children.

The effort expended by the missionaries in healing sick Indians was considered by them to be almost as important a part of their duties as looking after the Indians' souls. The priest in the rôle of physician was in a wider sense a civilizing force, intent upon healing, intent also upon inducing in the callous native a feeling of sympathy for those made miserable by sickness or injury.

From all descriptions the plight of a sick Indian must indeed

have been a pitiable one. We feel the priest's sense of profound disquietude when he writes:

One cannot imagine more distressing circumstances than those surrounding a sick Sonoran. His bed is the hard earth. There he lies, completely abandoned to his fate. No one attends him. What is more, sometimes no one even gives him food or drink. His wife places at his side a *corita* [a small, tightly-woven basket] filled with water, and another with *atole,* leaves him and often does not go to him for half a day. The husband treats his wife in the same way, as does the mother her children and they their parents. Sonorans are without affection, and are insensitive to the suffering of those with whom nature has so closely allied them.

Certain comments made by Pfefferkorn about the Sonora natives should be cited here.[9] He states that

in Sonora, as everywhere, there are large, medium-sized, and small people, but the latter are in the minority. Most Sonora men could appear honorably among the grenadiers in Europe. As a rule they possess healthy, strong, sturdily-built, and finely-shaped bodies. During my eleven years stay in Sonora I cannot remember having seen a single cripple, and this was the more surprising to me, because of the carelessness of mothers in raising their children. All grew up beautiful and straight. Sonorans always walk with erect bodies, and carry their heads high, a habit which they retain in their old age. . . . Their bodily constitution is strong, enduring, and free from the many defects and weaknesses to which we Europeans are so often subject. Hence, a life of one hundred years or even longer is not rare among them. The main reason for this longevity seems to me to be the continual use of simple and natural nourishment. We Europeans, on the other hand, weaken our health with our artificial and always varying foods, prepared with hot spices.

The Sonora natives did not exert themselves in caring for their health, though they apparently knew of certain remedies which they made use of upon occasion. Headaches were treated with cold water or wet clay plastered on the head. A more drastic cure was blood-letting, effected by tearing the skin at the temples with an arrow point. An aching tooth was forced out

[9] Pfefferkorn does not tell the reader the name or names of the Sonora natives to which his generalizations apply. His eleven missionary years were spent at mission Ati, among the Pima, and at mission Cucurpe, among the Opata. However, at Ati were considerable numbers of Papago; while among the Opata at Cucurpe lived large numbers of the Eudebe tribe. It is probable, therefore, that though he meant his generalizations to include all of the above-named, one is at least safe in allowing them to apply to the Opata and Pima Indians.

of the head by holding a notched stick against it and pounding on the end of the stick with a stone. This method of tooth extraction was as effective though not so speedy a one as that devised by a Sonora Spaniard who, according to Pfefferkorn, shot an aching tooth out of his head by tying one end of a string around the tooth, the other end to a musket ball, and discharging the musket.

Though the Sonorans generally allowed nature to take its course in matters of health and sickness there were Indian medicine men upon whom many natives relied for help. These native physicians were angrily termed "quacks" and "wicked impostors" by the missionaries. The medicine men claimed to understand the art of curing all sicknesses but demanded payment in advance for their services. Since they were paid in food stuffs, they catered to those Indians whose stores of grain were the most plentiful.

The medicine men used various remedies, sometimes bringing real relief through administering native herbs. But generally they resorted to hocus-pocus methods to exorcise the evil. Sucking and blowing on the afflicted part of the body through a tube was a favorite procedure. Sometimes smoke from the Sonora tobacco was blown through reeds on ulcers or wounds. Any accidental cures which the Indian medicine men might achieve were resented by the missionaries, for the latter strove constantly to weaken the prestige of these so-called quacks. The animosity of the missionaries toward the medicine men was heightened by the latters' claim that they enjoyed the aid of *Muhaptura* [the murderer], a kind of a devil-dog. To combat the evil influence of the medicine men missionaries at times found opportunities to have them publicly punished.

There were quacks among the Sonora Spaniards, as well as among the Indians, however. Pfefferkorn recalls with horror the suffering he experienced at the hands of a masseur who was said to be skilled in curing *empacho* by massaging the patient's stomach. "Hardly, however, had the quack begun his operations than I became certain that under his hands I would give up the ghost. I thanked him for his services and sought milder remedies, by means of which I recovered."

It is evident that such a priest as Father Pfefferkorn had to overcome many serious obstacles in striving to cure his Indians and Spanish charges from the variety of sicknesses to which Sonorans were subject. He had to compete with the medicine men and prove that his medicine was better than theirs. He had

to exercise his ingenuity and use his "common sense" to supplement his own meager medical knowledge. Perhaps, above all, he had to come with a natural indifference to matters of health on the part of the natives. Pfefferkorn tells more than once of the coaxing wheedling, and insisting necessary to overcome the reluctance of the natives toward taking his remedies.

He had also to respond without fail when summoned to the bedside of a sick Indian. Day or night, no matter what the weather, the priest would swing into the saddle and start off on his errand of mercy. On one occasion Pfefferkorn was called to an Indian who lay prostrate. Only the native's feeble pulse gave evidence that he still lived. In this crisis the priest's knowledge of Sonora habits of living came to his rescue. He explains that it was *pechita* time in Sonora; that is, June, when the Indians gorged themselves on *pechita,* the fruit of the mesquite tree.

> I suspected that the Indian's condition had resulted from excessive indulgence, especially since I observed that his stomach was stretched like a drum. I, therefore, tickled his throat with a small feather until he made a movement to vomit, which he proceeded to do so vigorously, throwing up such a quantity of still undigested pechita that I could not understand how the stomach could have contained such a tremendous mass. The sick one recovered consciousness immediately and when he saw me and some Indians about him he was so ashamed that without saving a word he ran away immediately.

In spite of his success in curing the sick there was at least one prescription which only the iron perserverance of the priest succeeded in forcing upon the natives. This horror was the enema. Pfefferkorn states:

> Nothing, however, was so distasteful and unbearable to them as the use of an enema. This I discovered myself when for the first time I prescribed the cure for a sick Indian. I sent to him a Spaniard who had volunteered his services for this work and who had been trained for it. Hardly had the Indian perceived the Spaniard's intention when he began to yell at the top of his voice and to resist with might and main. I was finally called to the sick person myself and tried at the greatest length to prevail upon him. All persuasion was in vain. At last I had to call upon four strong Indians to hold him down until the operation was completed. The results were so good that the sick person soon entirely recovered his health. The success of this treatment on the one mentioned and other similar occasions did away with my Indians' adhorrence of this cure and gave them such faith in it that many of them came to me and requested enemas for headaches and other pains.

When a sick person was visited the priest had to leave nourishment at the patient's bedside and make arrangements for someone to attend him, since the traditional practice was for even his closest of kin to shun him during his illness. In the villages the priests attempted to change this barbaric custom by appointing special Indian officers, one of whose duties it was to look after the sick. These officers were known as *mayoris (sic),* Indians whose reputations were such that they could be expected to be faithful and diligent. The *mayori* made daily rounds, visiting each house in the village to see if anyone were ill. Sickness was immediately reported to the priest who then acted as the needs of the situation prompted.

Besides laboring with the Indians in his mission district, each Sonora missionary watched over Spaniards who lived scattered throughout Sonora. Pfefferkorn reports that the Sonora Spaniards were the parishioners of a single parson, whose usual place of residence was the presidio of San Miguel, headquarters also of the governor of Sonora. This single clergyman's parish embraced in circuit over two hundred Spanish miles. "Pity the poor sick ones," says Pfefferkorn, "if they had had to await his assistance." Thus, in addition to ministering to the physical and spiritual wants of his Indians, the missionary watched over the garrisons and the *reales de mines* lying nearest his mission. There is a note of bitterness in Pfefferkorn's reference to the Spanish pastor when he writes: "The only thing which the Spaniards' own pastor did was to travel annually through Sonora, visit his fellow parishioners, and collect the surplice fees which the missionaries had earned during the year." But he has a kinder word for the *criollo* womenfolk, many of whom made it "their duty to look after the sick, even those who were not their kinsmen, with the greatest possible care and love."

Father Pfefferkorn's interest in improving the physical as well as the spiritual life of the Indians under his care moved him to record in his *Description* various observations about native life and population statistics which are valuable as anthropological data. His remarks concerning marriage and the rearing of children, death and burial, though fragmentary, provide us with some idea of the life cycle of the Sonora native as seen through the eyes of the "physician" priest.

The Sonorans married "as soon as they were able to do so." To the Sonora woman, pregnancy and child-bearing were a routine matter. Let the Jesuit missionary speak on these subjects.

From pregnancy to the last days before giving birth the Sonora women have not the least anxiety about their unborn. They avoid neither danger nor heavy exertions, yet very rarely does an unfortunate birth occur. The birth of a dead or deformed child is extremely rare. When childbirth approaches, Sonora women look for an isolated place. This they do because of a kind of superstition, for they imagine that the proximity of child-bearing women will cause misfortune to their men, and also bring harm to the sick and wounded.[10] The birth is accomplished easily and happily without the help of anyone. After the child is born the mother bathes herself and the child in the nearest water, fetches wood from the forest, and as before performs all the usual work. With all this, the mother remains healthy and well.

Sonora babies were never pampered.

The cradle of Sonora children is the hard earth. On it the completely naked infants lie or roll about like puppies. When the mother goes to the forest, into the field, or elsewhere, she ties the child fast to her back with an old rag or a leather strap. She walks with it this way and goes about everything she has to do without the least anxiety for the child. Only when it has screamed and cried long enough to make known its needs does she untie it and give it milk. Some mothers do this with the greatest convenience by throwing their extremely long breast over the shoulder to the child. Despite the fact that with this treatment the children endure much bumping and pushing, and must suffer much discomfort, the Sonorans are in general well built, strong people, and there is scarcely to be seen among them a feeble or a deformed person.

Of great concern to the missionaries was the Indian practice of tatooing children, especially girl babies, when they reached the age of one year. The mother performed the operation, piercing with a thorn the child's skin on the forehead, cheeks, lips, around the eyes, and sometimes also on the arms and the chest. The thorn pricks, rubbed with charcoal dust, were arranged in close rows, representing various figures. Since tatooing endangered the lives of infants the priests spared no effort to abolish the custom, especially among their new converts, but it still existed at the time of the expulsion.

Children were cared for by the mother—the father disregarded their very existence—until they could get around and gather food for themselves. From that day on they were left to their own devices. His comments indicate that Pfefferkorn was

[10] Pfefferkorn also speaks of a "superstition" *(sic)* that "the women must remain in an isolated place away from the company of other people during their menstrual period. In various places in the fields there were little huts designed for this sojourn. I had some of them destroyed."

not so censorious of the parental neglect as he was of the bad examples which the elders by their actions set for the children in whom they had ceased to be interested. But his expostulations on this subject are those of spiritual guide, not "physician."

During his eleven years in Sonora Pfefferkorn many times had the experience of being at the side of a Sonoran who closed his Christian life in an edifying way leaving the priest with confident hope for the eternal salvation of the deceased. However, most of the Indians, Christian or heathen, died as they lived, tranquilly and indifferently. Agan it is the spiritual guide rather than the "physician" who is oppressed by such indifference and finds its source in "a lifelong animal-like manner of existence which causes the mind to become so obdurate that even death, floating before their eyes, makes no impression on them" or in a "coarse and criminal ignorance which suppresses the reason and bars entrance of all wholesome ideas."

After a death, women lamenters among the relatives of the deceased assembled about the body of the corpse and emitted a low-toned piteous howling, "hau, hau," which resembled "bellowing more than weeping." But of tears there was not a trace, neither among the lamenters nor among other relatives. Indeed, the appearance of grief or of stimulated grief was apparently utterly absent whether at the time of death, during the bewailing ceremony, or at burial. The corpse was buried in a grave which was about "two ells square and about three ells deep."

> The body was lowered into this grave in an upright sitting position. The tomb was not filled with earth, but covered with a roof, and the inner grave left unfilled. The roof consisted of thick pieces of wood placed one alongside the other, the spaces between being tightly filled with twigs. The covering was then heaped over with earth, forming a sort of mound. Inside the pit, beside the body, were placed a vessel full of *pinole,* a jug of water, weapons, and whatever else the deceased had used during his life—just as if these things could still serve him in the other world. I find no other reason which could have misled the Sonoras to such a custom. It seems to me to be a strong proof that they had some notion of the immortality of the soul, although this idea was obscure and mixed with absurdity.

The death and burial of a Sonora native suggests another subject which has always been of the greatest interest to students of aboriginal populations; namely, the relationship existing between the advent of the white man and the diminution in numbers of the native stock. That there exists a relationship is, of course, indisputable, but quantitative studies are very diffi-

cult to make and at best lead only to tentative conclusions. It is, therefore, of importance to notice the conjectures provided by Father Pfefferkorn on the subject of the causes for the decline in Indian population since the coming of the Spaniards to Sonora.

The reader will be interested to learn whether the number of Indians in Sonora has increased or decreased since the establishment of the missions. Concerning this subject I tell what I have learned from my own experience and what I know from the testimony of missionaries who lived in Sonora during my time, and some of whom spent twenty, thirty, and more years in the spiritual care of the Indians. All of them agree unanimously with me that the number of Indians was growing ever smaller. The general opinion was that during a period of sixty or seventy years Sonora had lost more than half of its population.

Of the name and the existence of the Guayma, who once inhabited three or four villages on the sea coast, only a memory remains. Concerning the apostate Seri, Father Nicolas Perera, who with three other missionaries had administered to the spiritual care of this people and who in my time still lived in the mission of Aconzi, reckoned the number of this nation before their revolt at from nine to ten thousand souls.

Father Kino, Agustín de Campos, and other earlier missionaries testify that the Upper Pimas were so numerous at the end of the last century that all their villages were well-populated. However, by the year 1760 there was noticeable everywhere a considerable decline in population. This was seen very clearly by the baptismal and death lists which were prepared every year in each mission. The number of deaths was always greater than the number baptized. The villages of the Opata, the Eudebe, and the Lower Pima were also no longer as populous as they had been in former times. Regarding the still unconverted Indians inhabiting the banks of the Gila and Colorado rivers, both Father Kino in former times, and Father Sedelmayr in recent times, have assured us that these tribes also show a declining population.

There is no doubt that frequent wars of long duration have destroyed large numbers of people among the various Senora nations. Likewise, their ranks are thinned by small-pox and other epidemics which at times rage in Sonora. Such scourges almost completely depopulated Ocuca, Dolores, Tupo, Remedios, and other formerly pleasant and populous villages.

However, the decline in Indian population is not ascribable alone to the above-named causes. The Opata and Eudebe, and Upper and Lower Pima as well, were for a long time at peace. In the skirmishes which occurred between the converted and the wild Indians, the loss of life was seldom great, because all immediately took to their heels

as soon as one or more fell. Moreover, sometimes many years passed without the occurrence of a contagious epidemic. Yet it was clear that the population not only did not increase but, on the contrary, slowly decreased. The conjugal fertility of these Indians was, to be sure, generally not exceptional.[11] Whther their gradual decline in numbers resulted from infertility or from other causes, I do not know.[12]

Pfefferkorn has left notes on various insect, spider, and reptile pests of Sonora, as well as on plants, which, in one way or another, were considered harmful to man. His description of injuries attributed to all such pests is balanced with a list of remedies. It is reassuring in considering the usefulness of Pfefferkorn's *Description* to notice that he frequently "debunks" fantastic yarns about "dangers found on every hand" among the flora and fauna of Sonora, and that when he does accept an implausible story he attempts to give its source.

Among the insect pests of Sonora were the *garrapatas,* of large and small variety. The small *garrapata, poux de bois,* in French, was a wood tick which bored into the skin and had to be dislodged whole lest the head of the animal remain in the flesh and cause infection. This tick could be removed by rubbing the afflicted part with olive oil or grease, or by administering warm applications until the borer loosed its hold. The large *garrapata,* resembling a bedbug in appearance, was found indoors and caused trouble by getting into a person's ear and fastening itself to the outer ear passage as a blood-sucker. Easy and safe removal was effected by filling the ear with olive oil and floating the *garrapata* to within reach of a pair of tweezers.

Another skin borer was the *animalito vermejo,* the little red bug, a tiny flea-like insect, which infested the grassy meadows usually during the rainy season. Its presence was startlingly noted because "at the place where it has buried itself, one feels a fierce burning as if caused by a glowing coal." Scratching the point of irritation aggravated it; the remedy suggested by Pfefferkorn for getting rid of this borer was repeated vinegar applications.

---

[11] Pfefferkorn's *description* contains no reference to the size of Indian families. Sauer, "Aboriginal Population," *loc. cit.,* 2, takes an average of six to the aboriginal family.

[12] According to Cook, "The Extent of Disease," *loc. cit.,* 38-39, in Baja California "at least one-third and possibly one-half the population decline [i.e., 1697-1773] can be attributed to disease." Without a comparable study for Sonora it would be impossible to say whether the population decline spoken of by Pfefferkorn was to such a high percentage attributable to diseases introduced by the European as was evidently the case in Baja California.

Mosquito-netting was recommended for the large variety of mosquitoes and gnats which were especially troublesome at night.[13] For the bite of the red ant which caused "inflammation, swelling, numbing, and great pain," he prescribes no remedy but states that "these effects diminish slowly after some hours."

As an introduction to his description of snakes of Sonora, Pfefferkorn states:

> Hot countries are particularly plagued by poisonous animals. In Sonora they are so numerous that it can almost be said that hidden murderers sit under every stone in the field, among the tree branches and shrubs in the forest, and in nearly every nook in the house. It would hardly be possible to live in a land so full of horrors, if the benign foresight of the Creator did not give warning of the dangers in all kinds of ways and had He not provided the country with excellent herbs and plants for antidotes. Besides, a poisonous animal seldom harms a person unless it has first been injured by that person and is provoked to vengeance. Also, most of these animals are sluggish by nature and slow in their movements. Consequently, they are unable to turn speedily and to inflict a quick bite. Therefore, the danger of being harmed by them is not so immediate and unavoidable as one might imagine.

The poisonous snakes listed in the *Description* are the rattlesnake, coral snake, silent snake *(vibora sorda)* and the *vejuco* or *cuareque* snake (called thus from its resemblance to the trailing vejuco or cuareque plant which hangs down from trees, a feat which the snake duplicates).

Poisonous "insects" named by Pfefferkorn are the *escorpion, alacran* [scorpion], centipede, *salamanqueza, pinacate* beetle, *uvari* spider, tarantula, and the chameleon. The escorpion is described as a lizard of greenish-yellow color, its head, tail, and feet being marked with narrow black stripes. This animal had the reputation for being very poisonous, but Pfefferkorn says he never heard of a fatality caused by an escorpion during the eleven years he was missionary in Sonora. There were four varieties of scorpion in Sonora, a black, dark red, brown, and yellow variety. These, especially the red scorpion, Pfefferkorn credits with being quite harmful to man, though he cites but one instance of a fatal sting ascribable to a scorpion, and that occurred in Durango, not in Sonora. He doubts the potency of centipede poison, stating: "In Sonora all who are bitten by the centipede are given up. I have never observed that so stern a judgment

[13] Pfefferkorn names mosquitoes, *zancudos, gegenes,* and *mantas blancas.*

was warranted; neither have I ever heard of a person's being bitten by a centipede." His judgment is the same for the salamanqueza, a lizard with white belly, dark green upper body, white dotted back and tail, and scale-encrusted feet.

The inhabitants of Sonora had an especial horror of the pinacate beetle, which resembled a dor-beetle in shape and color, though somewhat longer and thinner. Generally, it lived in houses, where in the Sonora manner, floors were neither wood nor stone, but bare, uncovered earth, or "where the broom stands untouched and dirt prevails." The pinacate's bite, according to the inhabitants, was not only poisonous but is also incurable.

I cannot believe the pinacate is as murderous as this. If it were one would see a corpse almost every day in Sonora, for in the pretty dwellings of Indians, as well as in the abodes of Spaniards (which are almost as filthy) there are almost always some of these little black animals promenading about. There would be ample opportunity for them to administer their fatal bite since Indians walk about barefoot and naked. Hence, I believe that more blame is attached to the pinacate than it really merits.

However, Pfefferkorn gave the pinacate credit for raising its back when molested and releasing a disagreeable odor.

He calls the uvari spider "a coal-black, very ugly little animal," extremely dangerous company, and admonishes one to sweep it out of the house at first sight.[14] The tarantula, the most common variety brownish-black in color, others dark yellow, sprinkled with black spots, was repulsive to Pfefferkorn because it was "the most horribly ugly animal which one can possibly imagine." He considers it to belong to a different species from the "notorious Neopolitan tarantula." "At least," he says, "no one in Sonora, as a result of being bitten by this spider, has been known to have danced himself to death, which strange

[14] See also Middendorff, *Aus dem Tagebuch*. "The *uvari* is a very small black spider; its sting is deadly if one does not quickly use an antidote. The body becomes paralyzed, one is struck speechless, and bodily warmth is replaced by the cold of death. Once I saw a man who had been stung by such a spider. As they were on the verge of burying the victim, a woman who had an understanding about the effects of such spider bites noticed that the victim's heart was beating, even though no one had noticed any breathing, either on a mirror or in any other way. The woman covered the man's body with slices of fresh cheese, the slices having first been well toasted on a fire until they were very hot. The hot cheese raised many blisters and pustules [on the victim], and when the cheese cooled fresh hot slices were applied. Finally the man began to revive. He opened his eyes, but stammered in his speech and spoke unintelligibly, like an intoxicated person. However, after two or three hours he regained his natural warmth, speech, and powers."

effect is widely attributed to the sting of the Apulian tarantulas."

The last-named "insect" is the chameleon, not a chameleon at all, says the priest, but misnamed by the Spaniards and also falsely accused by them of being a "murderer" though completely non-poisonous.[15]

Of the large number of antidotes and remedies which were considered efficacious in cases of bites and stings from poisonous animals Pfefferkorn mentions particularly the *jaramatraca, contra yerba,* Sonora rubber, the *piedra de ponzona,*[16] cauterization, monks' rhubarb, and tobacco smoke.

Pfefferkorn's mention of tobacco smoke refers us to what appears to be a neat bit of rationalization on his part. He says:

> Tobacco smoke is the best preventive antidote for all poisonous animals. It drives small ones from the room; it stuns larger ones so that they lie motionless and can do no harm. I learned this remedy from a Spaniard who persuaded even me to smoke every night before going to sleep. Faithfully and diligently I followed this advice, which was many times very useful to me. I was never attacked by a poisonous animal, even though once one of the most poisonous snakes, and another time a centipede, kept me company in bed. I ascribe this boon to tobacco, and still thank the honest Spaniard who gave me the wholesome advice.

Even with this rationalization, if such it was, Pfefferkorn reveals a certain scientific curiosity, for he describes an experiment which proved to him that scorpions could not tolerate tobacco smoke. He filled an inverted tumbler with tobacco smoke, placed the scorpion inside, and had the satisfaction of seeing the animal sting itself with the point of its own tail rather than endure the tobacco.

Pfefferkorn includes also in his *Description* notes on the poison used by the Seri Indians for preparing their arrows. He states that poisoned arrows made the Seri much feared, despite a reputation which the Indians had for being as timid as hares. The poison, as described by the missionary, was so deadly that the smallest wound from an arrow caused quick death. "At the

---

[15] From notes in the *Description* it is likely that the "chameleon" here referred to is the familiar "horned-toad." The herdsmen of Sonora told Pfefferkorn that this lizard, if swallowed by a snake, had the remarkable ability of cutting its way out of the reptile by raising its horny collar and using it as a saw.

[16] "Poison stone" anyone could prepare, according to Pfefferkorn "by placing a piece of hart's-horn in a new earthen pot over a low fire and roasting it slowly until it is all black and shiny. This is the so-called poison stone of Sonora. If it is applied immediately to a fresh wound, it draws out the poison and frees the patient from danger."

most," writes Pfefferkorn, "two days may elapse before the wounded person is a corpse." The flesh became coal-black, and fell from the bones in pieces, as though decayed. "The only method of preventing this horrible calamity, as far as is known, is to burn out the wound promptly with a fire brand, or red hot iron, before the venom has entered the body." This painful cure constituted the only hope of saving one's life.

The manner in which this death-dealing salve is prepared by the Seri is quite unusual. I describe it as it was told to me by my Indians, and by some Seri themselves. First they collect most painstakingly a large quantity of the poisonous juices from all kinds of the most malignant snakes, toads, scorpions, spiders, centipedes, and similar poisonous insects *[sic]*. To this are added some of the poisonous herbs known to the barbarians. Then, after all these horrible things are gathered in a large earthen vessel, the container is well covered and the cover carefully sealed all around with a glue, so that none of the strength of the inclosed brew may evaporate. The pot thus cautiously made ready is placed on a fire under the open sky, and the materials are cooked until it is thought that they have the strength necessary for use. Care of this murderous concoction devolves upon the oldest woman. Chosen for this purpose, she must sit by the fire, tending it diligently, and finally, when the salve is supposed to be sufficiently cooked, she must remove the pot from the fire and uncover it. The unfortunate old one who has surrendered herself cheerfully to her fate, hereupon becomes a sacrifice to her countrymen, for when the dish is uncovered the poisonous vapor which rises invariably kills her.

When the vapor has entirely dispersed, the pot become cold, and the danger passed, one of the Seri makes a test to determine whether or not the poison has the requisite strength. He makes a small cut in his hand and then holds near to the incision an arrow freshly smeared with the salve, being careful, however, not to let it touch the cut. If the blood oozing forth draws back, then the hellish brew is as it should be, and each Seri takes a part of it home with him to poison his arrows. Should this test fail, the vessel must again be placed on the fire, and another old crone procured to cook it again, and finally, when uncovering the vessel, she like the first must give up her life. However, this is very seldom necessary, and moreover, each time there is enough prepared to last for a long time.

Pfefferkorn names but few Sonora plants which to his knowledge were harmful to man. To be sure, he implies there were such, "poisonous herbs known to the barbarians," in speaking about the Seri poison, but specifically he names only the fruit of the *tuna* cactus, mescal root, and *yedra*. Tuna fruit, according to Pfefferkorn, had the evil reputation in Sonora for causing

ague. "I do not know whether one does it justice or injustice in believing this," he states. The priest probably considered the charge unjust for he describes tuna fruit as "sweet tasting, very juicy, and good to eat." Mescal root, pit roasted, was "very tender and as sweet as the best honey" and also "not only a pleasant but also a nourishing food." When one first ate the root, it caused "a somewhat troublesome diarrhoea," but "one has only to continue eating it boldly and the stomach becomes accustomed to it." Regarding *yedra,* however, Pfefferkorn states:

> I never troubled myself particularly with acquiring information about poisonous plants. However, I wish here to mention a plant, which is well known to me, and whose very shadow seems to be poisonous. It is a kind of ivy, which is very similar to that which we know in Europe, and hence it is called ivy, *yedra,* in Spanish. It is found on old dead trees, to which it clings all over twined about branches and trunks. Accidental contact with this plant causes that part which has touched it to begin to swell immediately and to become greatly inflamed. Soon thereafter, unless it is treated in time with cooling packs, the poison spreads itself through the rest of the body. Yes, it is enough if one but sits beneath a tree and is shaded by it to contract the same effects from its poison, and it is even generally affirmed in Sonora that he who tarries under this shadow for too long will endanger his very life. This opinion is supported by examples of people who have been found dead under such trees. For this, then, the yedra is believed to be responsible; as if death could not have resulted from many other causes.

The details given above of Father Pfefferkorn's work as a "physician" among the Sonora natives, and of his notes on Sonora native life and plant and animal pests cannot properly be generalized to apply to Jesuit missionaries working in various other mission regions in the Americas. Yet, there is the fact that Pfefferkorn frequently uses a non-editorial "we" in speaking of the missionaries' efforts to heal the sick. He generalizes, too, concerning missionary expenditures for medicines, affirms the wide use made of Steinefer's anthology, and records the general agreement among Sonora Jesuits about the decline of Indian populations. Perhaps, then, we may consider his labors, conditioned by his individual mentality and particulars of his own mission existence, as conforming to a general pattern characteristic of the Jesuit missionary as a frontier civilizing force.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

Associate Professor of History,
San Francisco State College

Notes and Comment

STUDIES, PUBLICATIONS, SERIES

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, Chicago, has published the third of its publications, *Frontenac and the Jesuits,* by Jean Delanglez, S. J. Reviewers of the first of these works, *Some La Salle Journeys,* and *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* welcomed them for their scholarship, for bringing new light and viewpoints on phases of colonial history, for opening avenues to new research projects on subjects considered by historians as rather finished, and for revealing source materials for more elaborate studies. Reviewers in this country, however, generally missed the significance seen in these works, especially in the first, by scholars of France and England, who just now are revising their treatments of the causes and occasions of the French-English wars as they arose in this continent over claims to territory by reason of say La Salle's explorations. Cartographical evidence and the documentary criticisms appear to have been appreciated by some of the historian reviewers but not altogether comprehended by them. Anthropologists have expressed themselves as pleased with the footnotes and criticisms for the information they give on source materials essential to anthropological studies and for eliminating from serious consideration names heretofore deemed ponderous with authority, such as Margry, Le Clercq, and Parkman. *Frontenac and the Jesuits* as a separate volume indicates the shallowness of the foundations of the French régime and displays the incompatible elements of the administration. The book might well have had several other titles descriptive of its contents, which pertain to the political, social, economic, and religious affairs of New France during the period of the first incumbency of Frontenac. The Jesuits are seen only in their relation to the programs of the French court and the fiery governor.

Other series of studies and publications are beginning or continuing.

The departments of history and political science of the University of North Carolina have resumed the publication of the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. The first number of Volume 23, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina,* by Professor Albert Ray Newsome, is well-written and heavily documented.

Brother Gabriel Sagard's *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* has just been expertly translated by H. H. Langston, introduced and edited by George M. Wrong, and published as Volume 25 of the *Publications* of The Champlain Society of Toronto. Sagard, a Recollect brother, recounts his personal experiences and observations in the Huron land in great detail.

The Mississippi Valley Press of Oxford, Ohio, organized to publish scholarly historical works, and interested in giving scholars an opportunity to make significant contributions to Americana, offers as its first publications *William Salter, Western Torchbearer,* by Philip D. Jordan, and *Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman,* by Charles H. Thomas.

Canadian-American Relations 1840-1847, by Lester B. Shippee, comes as one of a series of studies projected with the view to bring out all phases of the relations between Canada and the United States in a scholarly way. About thirty volumes will compose the series, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and published at the Yale University Press.

The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844), a dissertation by Rev. Vincent F. Holden, C. S. P., comes as Volume 39 of the Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History. The very interesting biography covers the period in the life of Hecker prior to his entrance into the Catholic Church. It is hoped that another volume will deal with the career of Father Hecker, as missionary, lecturer, and founder of the Missionary Society of St. Paul, or Paulist Fathers.

The Institute of Mediaeval Studies of St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada, produced its first volume of scholarly research on subjects pertaining to the Middle Ages and edited documents.

There is promise of a twelve-volume work on "the Coronado country" as a fitting commemoration of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial. The volumes by capable historians of the Southwest are designed to cover the earlier history of the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, on whose soil the great conqueror and explorer trod.

THE EIGHTH AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS

Announcement is made of the aims, purposes, and program of the Eighth American Scientific Congress to be held in Washington from May 10 to May 18. The purposes are to advance scientific thought and achievement and to assist in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Pan American Union. Inter-American good will, neighborly relations, appreciations of the problems of the western hemisphere, and deeper understanding of one another on the part of the American Republics has been one of the great goals of the Department of State. The Congress is designed to offer inspiration toward the attainment of the ideal. The distinguished scientists and scholars of the two Americas will meet in eleven sections. It is expected that many papers will be submitted for publication if not for presentation by authorities of international renown. The disciplines of history and geography are combined into one section, whose topics for research and discussion are given tentatively as exploration, cartography, the

changing economic role of the Americas, population problems, social changes in Indian America, and phases of land occupance and the frontier. In the economic and sociology section representatives of each country are invited to present a systematic statement of the major problems of their respective countries. President Roosevelt will address the Congress and diplomatic representatives of the various countries at the formal opening ceremonies.

ANOTHER AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In July of 1938 the Department of State created the Division of Cultural Relations. Purpose: "To encourage and strengthen cultural relations and intellectual cooperation between the United States and other countries." The activities of the Division are supposed to extend to all countries of the world. The plan is to make people of the United States acquainted with the culture of foreign countries. The scope of the activities has been considerably narrowed owing to existing strifes in various portions of the world. In fact, at the Conference on Education called by the Department of State and held last November in Washington, Europe was definitely excluded as a region suitable for encouraging or strengthening any cultural or intellectual relations with the United States, while all emphasis was placed upon the necessity of welding together the Republics of the Western Hemisphere. To quote from the mimeographed "Principal Addresses, Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education," Mr. Cordell Hull speaking: "It is possible that the great shadow which lies heavily over Europe may become a long twilight. It is not inconceivable that many of the lights of Western civilization may there be dimmed or altogether put out. It may even be that for a time the New World may have to guard and maintain the achievements of that civilization, holding them in trust for a time when they can once more be general throughout the world." In view of the present policy of our Government toward establishing hemispherical solidarity in the face of possible intrusions of dictatorship ideologies, in view of the recent endeavors of statesmen of the American Republics to isolate themselves from the European turmoil and to embark upon a program of cooperation toward peace by means of understandings rather than by balance of power, it seems that the Americans have declared another revolt against European thought, politics, diplomacy, ideologies, economies, and cultural trends.

ITEMS OF INTEREST

Ernest E. East, founder of the Peoria Historical Society, recently published a noteworthy contribution to Lincolniana under the title, *Abraham Lincoln Sees Peoria.* There are thirty-seven pages in triple columns and more than two-hundred fine historical illustrations, pho-

tographs, facsimiles, and autographs, backed by a serviceable index. Much of the text is documentary, many of the pictures rare, and if the brochure had been set up in book form a rather bulky volume would have emerged. The work, the findings after detailed research, and the general idea of the production are worth while and highly interesting.

From San Francisco comes a brochure in sixty-five pages, *The Birth of America,* by Camillus E. Branchi, of the University of San Francisco. Its purpose is to prove that Columbus hit upon San Salvador on October 13 rather than on October 12, 1492. The major proofs are three: from Columbus's key numbers, from calculation of the time solar elapsed between leaving Palos to his arrival at the farthermost point of his voyage, and from the apparent and true solar time elapsing from September 9 to October 12. Bishop Las Casas is the basic authority for October 12. A list of manuscript sources and historical works of early writers is given. Of the 133 authorities so tabulated, 49 give no date for the discovery, 4 do not mention the discovery, 33 give only the year 1492, 6 give other years with no date, 2 give October 10, and 9 give October 11, 1492, twenty-seven give various days of navigation, and only one gives October 13, 1492. No one gives October 12.

The Historical Bulletin (St. Louis University) for March 1940 devotes its pages to a symposium on the Society of Jesus, carrying six articles on various phases of Jesuit activities during the four hundred years elapsed since the foundation of the Order in 1540.

Book Reviews

Democracy Today and Tomorrow. By Eduard Benes. Macmillan Company, New York, 1939. Pp. xiv+244.

This volume represents a compilation of the lectures given at an American university by a former president of Czechoslovakia. In addition to the lectures proper, it contains an appendix which contains various appeals made by Eduard Benes to various nations, to the League of Nations, and to the American people as such. The author's desire is: ". . . to explain briefly the nature of the whole spiritual and political crisis of present day Europe, as it strikes us in all the current events of internal and external life in the main European nations; . . . to show how Europe, from the times of the American and French revolutions, fought relentlessly for democracy, and how the whole of the nineteenth century is filled by a hard struggle with all the political and moral problems with which democracy is today confronted" (p. vi).

Democracy Today and Tomorrow is a concrete example of the deplorable results almost invariably attendant upon the efforts of a non-historian to write what is intended to be substantially history. It is quite possible that Dr. Benes is a political scientist of merit, but his disregard for hard facts will bar him definitely from the circle of reputable historians. The book is filled with generalizations, whose cardinal defect is the lack of truth. To one who wishes an inclusive, but inaccurate, account of Europe's progress toward a degree of self-government, this book can be unqualifiedly recommended.

The writer makes no effort to conceal his disdain for everything associated in any way with organized religion, or for that matter, with Christianity. The delineation of the medieval man is an example of this ill-concealed hostility. Throughout the book there is nothing to indicate that democracy owes anything to Christianity; nothing to indicate that the principles of Christianity should penetrate the warp and woof of modern society; nothing to indicate that religion and morality are necessary for the well-being of the state, as was maintained by at least one rather prominent American some decades ago.

The hostility toward any contributions made by Christianity are followed by encomiums heaped upon the French Revolution. Dr. Benes thinks all important world history dates from the period of the French Revolution. He enthusiastically writes: "It was the triumph and the freedom of conscience, science and research, the triumph of rationalism as a philosophical method and system against the old medieval scholastic philosophy, Catholic theology and religious intolerance" (p. 7). To make himself even more clear, he adds: "It gave vivid actualization to spiritual, intellectual, and religious freedom and to the whole principle of toleration and free discussion"

(p. 7). As though the situation had not by this time become ridiculous enough, the author then proceeds (p. 8), to identify practically Sieyes, Paine, Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Adams, and Jefferson. Throwing people of such diverse viewpoints into the same category makes the entire proposition so ridiculous that no thoughtful and reasoned refutation can be made. It is much as though some one had stated that Tom Thumb served as the second president of the United States and also commanded the Confederate forces at Vicksburg in 1863. Some statements are simply beyond the reach of rational criticism, which presupposes a certain amount of basic knowledge on the part of all concerned. When contradictory statements make evident a lack of such knowledge, it is best to let the matter rest.

When dealing with material which he has studied and experienced, Dr. Benes writes in a manner which is much more convincing. The section on the "Downfall of Postwar Democracies" (pp. 53-93), will perhaps be considered the best part of the book by many readers. Analyses are presented of the various 'isms' of Europe, and their respective roles in lessening the influence of democracy are evaluated. In noting the undesirable features of Communism, for example, we observe that its hostility to religion is nowhere mentioned. As a matter of fact, it would seem that the downfall of democracy in many parts of Europe was to be expected, if its advocates there could make out no stronger case for it than that advanced by Dr. Benes. Recent operations of 'democracies' entirely devoid of Christian principles are sorry affairs. The author gives no reason why anyone should practice unselfishness in his activity as a citizen. The cheap materialism which runs through this type of democracy is little improvement upon the materialism of Communism. In Communism as advocated by Lenin we have government without God; in democracy as advocated by Benes we also have government without God. To this reviewer, at least, one seems about as repulsive as the other.

The section on the League of Nations (pp. 93-137), is a sustained and querulous complaint because the larger nations of the world, particularly the so-called democracies, did not guarantee the territorial boundaries as determined at Versailles. Dr. Beněs had hoped that the League would be an organ of democracy. He states that the lack of faith which one nation had in another was largely instrumental in bringing about the disintegration of the League. He defends the inefficiency of the League on the score that it was new and therefore in an experimental stage. But once more, the author practically admits that there are no fixed standards of right and wrong, and gives no reason why a nation should not do that which is momentarily expedient. The nations in the League, free from any principles of a fixed nature relative to right and wrong, did that very thing, with tragic results for the League.

Loyola University PAUL KINIERY

Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón. By Salvador de Madariaga. Macmillan, New York, 1940. Pp. 524.

This well-written and very interesting volume from the pen of Salvador de Madariaga, the author of a number of semi-popular works in the fields of literary criticism, political theory, and philosophy, adds no new facts to our slender store of information about the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón.

Madariaga has attacked the problem in a most novel way. In short, the Great Discoverer serves as but the central theme around which Madariaga gratuitously presents, with fiery eloquence and poetic imagination, embellished with a wealth of interesting facts (all of them important if considered in true perspective), a "new" interpretation of Spanish civilization. The interpretation of the author is that the only dynamic and creative agency in Spanish civilization, otherwise static, were the Arabs, the Jews, and the *Conversos* (Christianized Jews)—a distorted footnote to Amador de los Rios' *Historia social, politica, y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal.* Even cooking in oil, now characteristic of Spanish cooking, was borrowed from the Jews! (p. 130). The poor olive tree of the Mediterranean world is given no credit whatever.

Madariaga begins by properly inoculating the reader. He begins this by placing on the title page the Spanish saying: "Truth marries no one." Then: ". . . the . . . history of Colón is . . . complicated by those religious and historical prejudices which seem to have smothered the history of Spain with their rank overgrowth to an even worse extent than that of any other nation. Protestant, Catholic, Jew, reactionary and revolutionary prepossessions have flourished on this fertile historical soil—the discovery of America—until the mere statement of simple, plain facts sounds like unheard of hearsay or wild lucubration" (p. 31). Had Madariaga been more cautious he might have placed on the title page Sancho Panza's advice: "Between two millstones never put your thumbs."

A misleading device used by the author is the weighing of both generally accepted and long discredited rival interpretations of controversial phases of Columbus' life as though they were all of equal merit, without giving the unwary average reader the slightest indication as to the true relative value of the particular interpretations under discussion, the author finally appearing to arrive at an "original" conclusion. By combining outward manifestations with an analysis of Columbus' subconscious mind, Madariaga concludes that the Great Discoverer was of a Spanish-Jewish family that moved to Genoa sometime in the fourteenth century, etc., "despite what erudite, though rash, scholars may have thought" (p. 41).

With regard to Columbus' language, the author writes: " . . . the

Colombo family were Spanish Jews settled in Genoa, who following the traditions of their race, had remained faithful to the language of their country of origin" (p. 53). This sentence is footnoted by the sentence: "I am indebted for advice and suggestions on this point to the following gentlemen: President Morgenstern and Professor Marcus, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio; Mr. Leon Huhner, of New York; Dr. Cecil Roth, of London; and Professor W. J. Martin, of Liverpool" (pp. 434-435). Then: "Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal has kindly sent me his MS. of a note which he prepared at my request on this point of Colón's language. It is, as was to be expected of the chief Spanish philological authority, a masterly study of Colón's language. But I am afraid I cannot accept the conclusions which the eminent philologist carries over from his special to the general field [preempted by Madariaga?]. His points against the Jewish hypothesis seem to me lacking in force" (p. 435).

Madariaga's book, presenting Columbus as a lonely, misunderstood, idealistic, brilliant Jewish refugee, appears to have been specially written to fit the mold of the vicissitudes of the Western World of the late 1930's.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

St. Louis University

Sir William Blackstone. By David A. Lockmiller, L. L. B., Ph. D. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1938. Pp. xviii, 308.

In his book, the author has attempted to bring to life the man whose name usually calls to mind nothing more than the fantasm of a four-volume commentary on English Common Law.

One hundred and thirty-two pages of the text and two appendices which contain eight pages of verse written by Blackstone do supply the reader with some of Blackstone's life history. However, one is a little disappointed to find that his childhood from birth in 1723 to 1739 when he went to the university is described in not more than six pages. A paragraph taken from "general accounts of social life at English universities" covers his college days while what he did as a law student is based on the "requirements that a student must meet to be admitted to the English bar." It is only when Blackstone becomes an official at All-Souls College at the age of twenty-one that he begins to emerge as a being of flesh and blood. Even then, many of his activities are mentioned without any satisfactory treatment. For example, one is left wondering how he saved the Clarendon Press from a "deplorable condition"? How he taught class? How he lived at Oxford?

Chapters six and seven dealing with Blackstone as a squire at Wallingford and as a member of Parliament are the first which really take the reader behind the scenes of formalities and tell him about

the man. As for the rest, one cannot help but feel that despite himself, the author has written largely of Blackstone as a background for the treatise in chapter nine on his *Commentaries on the Laws* of England, and chapter ten, the last in the book, which deals with "Blackstone in America." These are, by all odds, the best part of the work, but leave the impression of Blackstone as a book, not as a man.

The keen interpretation of the author with regard to the part played by the *commentaries* in forming the colonial mind with regard to the independence and the Constitution of the United States (pp. 170-174) is a contribution to our constitutional history. Mr. Lockmiller's own views on the basis of law as derived from the will of the majority (p. 175) supply an explanation for his enthusiasm with regard to the great commentator on common law.

Appendices other than those mentioned above have some source material. There is an exhaustive index, and an attractive format, both contributing to the facility with which the book will be read.

R. N. HAMILTON

Marquette University

Beacon on the Plains. By Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, S. C. L., Ph. D. The St. Mary College, Leavenworth, Kansas, 1939. Pp. 297. Maps and Illustrations.

Every day it becomes more patent that the gospel according to Turner does not tell the whole story of the making of the West. That the lure of free land was a powerful factor in creating the phenomenon in American history known as the advancing frontier may not be gainsaid; that it was so powerful a factor in this direction that the whole of American history may be written around it must be denied. It is impossible that so complex, so many-sided, so far-reaching an historical outcome as the rise and growth of the American nation should be explained in economic terms alone. No doubt economic forces contributed to the result and enormously so; but non-economic, religious, spiritual forces were also powerfully at work. The book under review brings out the very significant fact that in the state of the Union which furnishes it a theme, ministers of the Gospel and educators were on the ground with their uplifting influences before the adventurers, the settlers, the farmers put in their appearance. Kansas was a field of operations for the soldiers of the Cross before the seekers of free land had found it out.

Beacon on the Plains tells the story of the Catholic Osage Mission set up by Jesuit missionaries in 1847 on the banks of the Neosho. The institution was meant primarily to serve the religious and educational needs of the Osage Indians; in its development it served also the religious needs of the Catholic whites who in frontier days found homes in southern Kansas from its eastern to its western lines. To

Indians and whites alike the mission proved a recognized center of light and leading; the record of its activities is an integral part of the cultural history of Kansas.

This volume has not been fashioned out of second-hand and easily accessible materials. It is the product of thoroughgoing and original research in the primary sources of its subject. The impressive bibliographical note (pp. 266-297), indicates to the reader the extent of the investigations carried on by the author in libraries and archives in order to lay the necessary documentary basis for her work. Manuscript materials were gathered in ten different centers, including places as far apart as Topeka, St. Louis, Chicago, and Washington, D. C. Of particular importance for the author's purpose were the Father Ponziglione papers at St. Louis and the files of the Indian Office in the national capital.

Out of the wealth of authentic source-materials which Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald thus contrived to bring together has been woven a fascinating and revealing chapter in the religious and cultural history of the West. Readableness of narrative and accuracy of statement is not an easy combination to make in written history. In this book the combination has been made. No satisfaction in the reading of history is comparable to the satisfaction one feels in being conscious of getting the facts. The Sister's prime concern as evidenced by the careful documentation on every page of her work is to tell the story of the Osage Mission as it actually occurred. This she has succeeded in doing, thereby making a valuable contribution to the history of the frontier.

Only one inaccuracy has come under the reviewer's notice. No record appears to be on hand of any visit paid by Father Van Quickenborne to the Osage Indians in 1829 (p. 31, n. 2).

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University

The Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene. Edited by Richard B. Morris. Columbia University Press, New York, 1939.

This volume of essays was contributed by grateful students to one who guided them along the hard road to learning. Dr. Evarts Boutell Greene thus honored retired recently from active teaching after forty-eight years of service, three at Harvard, twenty-nine at the University of Illinois, and sixteen at Columbia. His scholarship, his ability as teacher and writer, his standing in the history fraternity are too well-known to call for comment. Many of those who heard the address "Persistent Problems of Church and State" which he delivered upon retiring from the presidency of the American Historical Association still regard it as the ideal presidential effort.

In length, and method of treatment, the eleven essays found in this

volume vary greatly. Indeed the disparity is so striking that it gives rise to the suspicion that the editor would have acted wisely in omiting one or two contributions. Apart from this limitation however the essays are entertaining and informative. We limit our comment to three of special interest and merit.

Why was it, asks Dr. O. M. Dickerson, that while the use of writs of assistance was practically limited to Massachusetts opposition to these writs was so general that judges from Connecticut to Florida, South Carolina alone excepted, and irrespective of political creeds, could not be induced to declare them legal? Moreover, at the first opportunity Americans ruled out such writs by the fourth amendment to the Constitution. This resolute opposition, he argues, could not have been due to Otis' famous speech for it was unknown to the majority of his contemporaries. As it was the form of the writ and not the writ itself that Otis attacked, so it was the form that the judges opposed. Warrants, specific as to name and place, the judges issued readily enough, but in general search warrants they discerned tyranny at its worst.

In "Labor and Mercantilism" Dr. Richard Morris informs us that by the revolutionary period laissez faire views were gaining ground, and yet economic regulation was a vital factor in colonial life. This found expression in licenses to certain quasi-public officials and the fixing of their wages, in the regulation of the price of necessaries and public services, in prohibitions of monopolies and forestalling, and in the enforcement of a definite poor policy. In the main the Continental Congress disapproved of price regulation with the result that no program on a national scale could be introduced, but states and towns made and enforced local ordinances in regard to prices, profiteering, and specie. Congress, however, did legislate to compel the circulation of paper money and to prohibit monopolies.

By virtue of editing the correspondence of General Gage, Dr. Clarence E. Carter is eminently qualified to discuss the role played by the creation of the office of commander-in-chief of the British forces in America in precipitating the American Revolution. Justification for the office he finds in the many new administrative problems created by the Peace of Paris, particularly the administration of the extensive territory acquired in the West. The need for just such an official to administer justice and supervise the Indian trade was assumed by the British, intent as they were at last on the enforcement of law; besides, they saw no other solution for effecting unity within the empire and maintaining an adequate defense. But an army, independent of colonial governments, was a novelty, an unconstitutional thing in the mind of colonial officials. Above all the sending of regulars to Boston, despite the known opposition of the provincial council, was certain to lead to incidents and give rise to conflicts between civil and military officers. The climax of ill-considered decisions was reached in 1774 when Gen-

eral Gage was commissioned governor of Massachusetts. This was an open affront, and coming as it did on the heels of the "Intolerable Acts" it was bound to be resisted by a liberty loving people. Such open disregard of cherished rights prepared minds for rebellion and the asserting of their independence.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

What Germany Forgot. By James T. Shotwell. Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. 152.

The reader of this all-too-brief work is highly rewarded with fresh points of view, concisely and arrestingly presented, on the economic consequences of the World War. The author's complete understanding of this difficult subject is abundantly evident through the pages of the book, which is one that ought to stimulate and guide all students of recent political and economic history. *What Germany Forgot* is in part a summary of certain of the findings of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which under Dr. Shotwell's direction and editorship, has published 150 volumes with the general title of *Economic and Social History of the World War.*

The author's forcefully and insistently expressed theme is that it was not the drastic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which ruined Germany, as is commonly accepted, but rather the terrific costs of the World War itself. Prior to 1914 it had been thought that economic recovery came almost immediately following the close of any war. Dr. Shotwell shows how the stupendous costs of present-day warfare continue to dominate the economic position of a nation for decades after peace has returned, and he blames war costs for the severity and duration of the world-wide depression which began in 1929.

Militarism, which even in Germany was in disrepute in the first years following the Armistice, revived in that country in the 1920's because the sometimes unwise post-war policies of the Allies and other factors enabled the militarists to convert the Treaty of Versailles into the most successful source of propaganda in history. Eventually most persons outside the non-Germanic European nations came to believe that the Treaty was deliberately devised so as to throttle forever the German people. The author, thoroughly objective and impartial in all his considerations, declares with evidence that the guiding minds at the Peace Conference were not motivated by vindictive impulses, as often charged, and he asserts (without attempting any defense of the Treaty) that the only "unendurable servitudes" were to be found in those sections of the Treaty dealing with Reparations and the Polish settlement.

This revival of the militaristic spirit led Germany to forget that it was the waging of war and not the vindictiveness of her conquerors

which brought the economic sufferings since endured, even though the post-war policies of the Allies were at times ill-advised and of a nature to foster a persecution complex among Germans. Another thing Germany has chosen to forget is that the last war disproved her former fallacious belief that the victor of any war would not suffer economically, as the winner could demand spoils sufficient to pay the cost of the war. It appears to be the author's firm conviction that the refusal of the United States to enter the League of Nations ruined the only possible chance of making the Treaty ultimately just.

WALTER M. LANGFORD

University of Notre Dame

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 22, NUMBER 3 JULY 1940

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JULY 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 3

CONTENTS

PEDRO SÁNCHEZ, FOUNDER OF THE JESUITS IN NEW SPAIN . . . . . *Jerome V. Jacobsen* 157

JEAN GARNIER, LIBRARIAN . . . . . *W. Kane* 191

DOCUMENTS: DEATH SITE OF FATHER MARQUETTE . . . . . *G. J. Garraghan* 223

NOTES AND COMMENT 226

New France and Louisiana, a survey of recent publications: POULIOT, *Premiers Ouvriers de Nouvelle-France;* AUDET, *Les Premiers Etablissements Français au Pays des Illinois;* BAUDIER, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana;* ROY, *Nos coutumes et nos traditions françaises; La Famille De La Porte de Louvigny; Inventaire des Papiers de Lery; Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec; Rapport de l'Archiviste, 1938-1939.*

BOOK REVIEWS 234

MCALLISTER, *In Winter We Flourish: Life and Letters of Sarah Worthington King Peter, 1800-1877;* CODE, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy;* PHILBRICK (EDITOR), *Pope's Digest 1815;* HUNT, *The Wars of the Iroquois;* SHOTWELL AND DEAK, *Turkey at the Straits.*

MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
PAUL J. FOIK
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

JULY 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 3

Pedro Sánchez, Founder of the Jesuits in New Spain

I

"All this Kingdom ought to erect a statue of bronze here in the plaza of Mexico to Padre Doctor Pedro Sánchez to keep it in mind of its illustrious regenerator." Such was the public tribute paid by the two ranking dignitaries of New Spain, Don Martín Enríquez, Viceroy, and Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, Archbishop, to the founder and first provincial of the Jesuit Province of New Spain.[1] No monument of the kind suggested was ever reared in the colorful plaza of Mexico City to the educator who strove for some thirty years to establish college life in the land, but the memory of Pedro Sánchez lives in many old colonial structures and ruins, the remains of the educational and mission systems, which under his guidance or incentive came into being in the sixteenth century. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the time set high value upon the character and work of the prominent founder. In spite of changing values in the education of our twentieth century and varying estimates of earlier efforts, occasional tribute to pioneer educators should be welcome, especially since school teachers, professors, and students, legions in

[1] Manuscript "Vida de Padre Doctor Pedro Sánchez," page 215, in Mexican Province Archives, Tomo 8, Misc. This manuscript is part of a Ms. "Historia del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Alcalá," running from page 202 to 232 in the compilation. It is very probably a copy of the *carta edificante* customarily sent to different Jesuit houses on the death of a father. It was written probably by Father Pedro de Morales, a contemporary of Sánchez and is evidently the basis of the "Vida" found in Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Crónica y Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México,* Mexico, 1896, I, 316-329. Ribas was also a contemporary, but composing his work years after the death of Sánchez, obviously incorporated much of the Ms. Vida into his florid account. Morales is mentioned as the writer of the relation, Ribas, I, 328.

number, have such great part in the epic narrative of the gradual spread of cultural life over the vast Americas.

Pedro Sánchez was born of Spanish peasant stock, some thirty miles west of Madrid at San Martín de Valdeiglesias in the proud old Archbishopric of Toledo. The time of his birth was late in 1528 or early in 1529.[2] When he was nine or ten years of age he was given the opportunity to travel east beyond Madrid to study in the famed old university town of Alcalá de Henares. Here in accord with the old custom he was first placed with a group of lads of his age in a college, or hall, for beginners. Thereafter he passed through all the seminaries and colleges[3] one by one during the next twenty-three years of his life.[4] Who financed his long educational process? It may have been that he received a bursary from a bishop or from one of the wealthier citizens or from a college. The bursary would be a sum of money sufficient for his support given to the college, and the donor would be his sponsor. Poor boys who received no bursary did not live in a hall with collegians but were assigned to bachelor boarding-houses whose regulations were just as strict as those of the colleges.[5] At times such poorer students wandered about the town in bands singing for alms. Apparently Pedro did not suffer such want for he was among the sponsored *colegiales,* wearing the colorful garb distinctive of the particular residence in which he was placed.

Having completed his primary education Pedro followed the courses in Latin and rhetoric preparatory to his study of philosophy or arts. He was rewarded successively with each of the university degrees of the time. Students of those days had to give a public discourse before their examiners in order to be

---

[2] Jesuit historians are unnecessarily in conflict over the date of his birth. The Ms. Vida gives 1526. Ribas omits the date. Sánchez himself makes late 1528 more preferable; in answering the form questions of an *Examen,* or questionnaire, late in 1561 or early in 1562, he stated that he was 33 "almost four years in the Society"; he entered in 1558. The *Examen* is in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (hereinafter *MHSJ*), *Epistolae Nadal,* Madrid, 1898, I, 624, note. For the questionnaire and its background see Allan P. Farrell, S. J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education,* Milwaukee, 1938, 199-202. Of the first two catalogues of the Mexican Province in manuscript, which we have in photostat from the European Archives of the Society, one is obviously wrong: that of 1576 gives Sánchez's age as 48, while the one of 1580 gives it as 50. From internal evidence the 1576 catalogue was composed at least a year before it was dated. Further argument for 1528 as the birth date is given in the Ms. Vida and in Ribas, I, 329, for both state the age as 81 in 1609.

[3] Ms. Vida, 202, and Ribas, I, 317. He was in the *colegios menores* for grammar and arts, and in the *colegio major* for theology.

[4] *Examen* as cited in note 2 *supra.*

[5] Farrell, *The Jesuit Code,* Chapter IX, especially page 207, has the types of regulations pertaining to the Jesuit colleges.

awarded the bachelor's degree. The licentiate came after some years of teaching or reading philosophy and only after an examination which consisted in a successful disputation, or public act, followed by a learned discourse, and finally after an exhibition lecture before a tribunal of doctors all under oath to render just sentence on the candidate's qualifications. The examinee on the conclusion of his public ordeal was left with his thoughts until the verdict was given him next day. The highest award, the degree of doctor, was conferred only on such as were deemed eminently worthy, and it qualified a professor to teach in any university. Great solemnity surrounded the investiture of the doctor. The doctoral candidate had to give exhibition lectures before his critical peers; he then pronounced an elegant discourse before the faculties and students of the university; as soon as he returned to his seat after his oratorical effort, the students arose in the hall and in either elegant or inelegant Castilian or Latin verse ridiculed him, mimicing his natural defects. Pedro Sánchez had to undergo some such routines since he became licentiate, master of arts, and doctor, although much of the buffoonery may have been omitted at his last public display inasmuch as he was a theologian.

His noteworthy talent as a lecturer in arts and his ability as an orator coupled with proved scholarship gained the new doctor a professor's chair in the University of Alcalá. Presumably, his lectures followed customary paths. A book was assigned to the students, which the professor read and explained. If the book were very rare or costly, handwritten copies might be obtained from preceding generations or from nearby stalls. As soon as the hour of reading was finished the professor had to be "at his post" —near one of the pillars in the patio—to answer questions. Generally, the school term was of eleven months, beginning about October 18, feast of St. Luke, and terminating about September 8 of the following year. Doctors were given the best hours in the morning, and frequently had sessions in the afternoon, as did Doctor Pedro Sánchez.

Sánchez's academic rise culminated in the rectorship, the supreme honor of the University of Alcalá.[6] The usual procedure

[6] No dates are available for the conferring of the degrees, for the periods of study, or for the period of his rectorship. The above order is given in the Ms. Vida and in Ribas, I, 317. From the fact that he was priest and professor in May 1558 he would seem to have taken the professor's chair in 1557; therefore he was most likely rector for the period prior to October 1557. And, since according to the regulations of the University laid down by its reorganizer, Cardinal Ximénez, the one chosen for the rectorship had

was to elect the rector for a year at the opening of the term, but whether this was done directly by the students or indirectly by the councillors chosen by them is not clear in the case of Doctor Pedro. The faculty chose a chancellor to work with the rector for the year, while both students and faculty each elected ten councillors to aid the rector and chancellor in governing the institution. From all accounts the selection of Sánchez was agreeable to all, and his regimen, probably for the year 1556-1557, gave high satisfaction. On relinquishing the office he was returned to a professorship in philosophy, which occupied him even during his final preparations for his ordination to the priesthood. Sometime before May in 1558 he received holy orders.[7]

At the age of thirty the Padre Doctor was attractive in personality, tall of stature, solid though inclined to stoutness, robust of health, even-tempered, and above all affable to people of the sundry classes of Alcalá de Henares.[8] An obvious choice for the rectorship, he was looked upon by many as of episcopal stuff, a worthy candidate for the bishop's mitre because of his gracious presence, learning, and priestly dignity. A kindliness and benignity shone forth from his thoughtful eyes. Ecclesiastical honors might well have been his had not the Jesuits crossed his path.[9]

II

Some young men, it happened, were getting themselves much talked about by students and people of the town. These newcomers emerged daily from a hall[10] newly established as the Col-

---

to be at least twenty-five years of age, Sánchez's term could not well have begun before 1554.

[7] Ms. Catalogue of the Mexican Province for 1580 gives 1558 as the date of his ordination and states "Diocese of Toledo," which indicates his status as a diocesan priest before his entrance into the Company.

[8] Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de la Iglesia en México,* El Paso, Texas, 1928, II, 332, has a print from one of the fine portraitures of Sánchez in Mexico City.

[9] Ms. Vida, 203. The implication is that his elevation was almost certain. Character sketches of a more objective nature than those of Morales and Ribas may be found in *MHSJ, Lainez,* III, Rome, 1913, 278-279, and in the letter of Gaspar de Salazar as cited in note 11 *infra.*

[10] Antonio Astrain, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España,* 7 volumes, Madrid, 1902-1925, I, 264. One of the homeliest men ever to enter the Society in those times had much to do with the origin of the Jesuit college of Alcalá, which grew to be the most important Jesuit center in all Spain (*Ibid.,* II, 38), and was of great influence upon the life of Sánchez. It was later the training school and the model for many American colleges of the Company. It happened that a shrewd, strong-willed rustic, named Villanueva after his birthplace, went to Rome, where he met Ignatius Loyola in 1541. He doggedly insisted on entering the new Order (*Ibid.,* I, 259-267). Despite his unprepossessing exterior and lack of educa-

lege of the Company of Jesus, and plodded forth to the lecture rooms wearing soutanes outstanding by reason of their antiquity. The Company had been approved as a religious order in 1540 by Pope Paul III. These young members at Alcalá still in their training period, as well as the fathers of the college, in all about forty, seemed completely at one in their intense zeal for the salvation of their neighbors. They spoke earnestly on spiritual topics to the townsfolk, and even to the faculty members. They became advisers of many. Doctor Sánchez soon became acquainted with the Jesuits. Their mode of life had been adopted by several of his students.[11] Even the master himself had leanings in the same direction, rumor had it. In 1558 rumor became fact. What particular Jesuit he knew, or what specific incentives he had, remain hidden from us, but he is reputed to have been inspired toward the missionary life by letters from fathers in the distant colonies. Sánchez had quietly plotted a course of life for himself, and when his decision was reached he entered the presence of the rector of the University of Alcalá to notify him of his resignation from the chair of philosophy.

The plans of Professor Sánchez for a very quiet exit from the halls of Alcalá and a very unobtrusive entrance into the ranks of the Jesuits went completely awry. Someone bruited his secret abroad. On May 12, 1558, when he emerged from his rooms for the final time, he found many members of the faculty, many of his students, and a throng of townspeople gathered to bid him farewell. Adieus were not sufficient. His well-wishers refused to leave him until the last moment, and hence he did not walk alone to the portals of the Jesuit residence. Learned and unlearned trooped with him. Arrived at the door, the learned doctor knelt before Father Manuel López to beg admission.[12] The throng awaited without whilst Sánchez went into the Jesuit church to offer himself for the work of the Company and to pledge obedi-

---

tion Ignatius admitted him, sending him to take care of the temporal concerns of the college of Coimbra. But after some time his talents were deemed capable of development, and so for reasons of study and health he was sent to Alcalá. There students were attracted to his lodging by his homely philosophy and deep religious outlook. Several wished to join him. By April of 1546 Villanueva, directed by Ignatius, had rented a house for four student Jesuits, who with himself formed the nucleus of the Jesuit college of Alcalá. In 1554 thirty-five poor Jesuits were attending the lectures while living in a new building purchased with a sum bestowed by a generous benefactor. Francisco de Villanueva was their superior, having been ordained in 1550. Professors and students of the University constantly sought his advice. He died at 48 on May 6, 1557 (*Ibid.*, II, 39).

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 63-64, Letter of Father Gaspar de Salazar. Cf. Philip Alegambe, S. J., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, Antwerpt, 1643, 397.

[12] *MHSJ, Litterae Quadrimestrae*, V, Madrid, 1921, 724.

ence to the rules and constitutions of Ignatius Loyola. As an earnest of his willingness, he volunteered to be cook or office boy if he were ordered. Thereafter he returned to the doorway to address his farewell to his friends. The event proved especially inspiring to two of his students, Juan Curiel and Juan Sánchez, who followed their master into the Order and in time accompanied him to Mexico.[13]

Pedro was sent to Simancas, a suburb of Valladolid, for his probation in the Jesuit novitiate. Because of his priesthood, the usual procedure for novices was waived, for according to the record he made his vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience immediately upon his entrance, and then had a probationary period of only fifty days, instead of one or more years of novitiate life. His master of novices was Father Gerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, who later became the first Jesuit provincial of the Province of Peru and led the first Spanish contingent to South America. Residing in the same house with him was Father Borgia, former Duke of Gandia, who became general of the Society and made the appointments of Portillo and Sánchez as provincials to the Americas.

At the termination of his brief training, during which time he was looked upon as a beloved pastor by the younger novices, Sánchez was sent back to Alcalá at the request of his former students.[14] Pedro had picked up and left them in the midst of a lecture course in philosophy, which they now wished him to finish. Petitions of theirs to this effect were successful, and so the Padre Doctor found himself back in familiar surroundings for the year 1558-1559.

While he was completing his lectures, the Jesuits were preparing to begin teaching in Valladolid. Doctor Sánchez was chosen to be professor of theology and took up his new duties in 1559, perhaps in October, being the first of a long list of Jesuits to teach in what became a very prominent college.[15] By

---

[13] Astrain, I, 267. Juan Sánchez, while still in his studies in Mexico, wrote the first chronicle of Jesuit affairs in New Spain; cf. J. V. Jacobsen, S. J., *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain,* Berkeley, California, 1938, 242. Juan Curiel became rector of the Jesuit college in Pátzcuaro, where he died of the plague in 1576, *ibid.,* 114.

[14] Ribas, I, 318, follows the Ms. Vida, 205-206, almost verbatim for this. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca,* 398, remarks about the perfection with which Pedro performed his probationary duties.

[15] The College of San Antonio belonging to the Jesuits in Valladolid was an old building occupied for years by students attending the University lectures, Astrain, II, 234-235. Father Pedro Ribadeneira, writing on the foundations of colleges in the Province of Castile, says the teaching of theology began in Valladolid in 1563, *ibid.,* 235. This statement, though by a

March of 1560 the studies were going well. The Jesuit students and some religious from the other colleges listened to Sánchez for an hour in the morning in the Jesuit house and then repaired to the College of San Gregorio, which was in charge of the Dominicans, for the other lecture.[16] Twenty-six Jesuits were residing in the new foundation at the time, ten of them priests. Academically, Sánchez's most outstanding achievement during this time was his "grand act," a public defense of theological subjects before the faculties of the University of Valladolid, the religious of the colleges, and the student bodies.[17] Few details of the affair have come down to us, but his exposition of divers theses chosen at random by professors and the responses made to his antagonists in the debate afforded great satisfaction to all hearers.

In the city itself during his stay unil 1565 his activities extended beyond the confines of the lecture halls. His natural energy and his new-found zeal for religious perfection carried him to greater heights as a pulpit orator. He shirked none of the more trying occupations of the priesthood; he heard the confessions of the poor or better classes; he appeared regularly in the primary schools to instruct children in their catechism; for the diocesan clergy and religious of the vicinity, about 200 in number, he conducted classes in moral theology and explained the principles for solving cases of conscience which they might encounter; he instructed slaves and other forsaken people of the community; he begged alms and foods for the sick in the hospitals, and personally consoled the afflicted, even during plagues.[18] At times of recesses from lectures, as during Holy Week and summer vacation, he gave retreats, or made his own spiritual exercises. His conduct in whatever form was so exemplary that the provincial, Antonio Araoz, recommended him to Laínez, for

---

contemporary, is not in accord with the official documents cited immediately below, which have Sánchez reading in Valladolid in January 1561.

[16] *MHSJ, Litt. Quad.,* VI, 565; VII, 58; and *Laínez,* VII, 297.

[17] *MHSJ, Laínez,* IV, 613, letter of Araoz to Laínez, January 7, 1560, says the "grand act" was held before Franciscan and Dominican scholars. The *acta* was made probably on January 1.

[18] These general details have been gleaned from the Ms. Vida and from *MHSJ, Litt. Quad.,* VII, 275, 713, and *Laínez,* VII, 297. Visiting the hospitals appears to us a simple and charitable act, but it meant in reality aiding the plague-stricken in pest-houses, for a series of plagues swept the cities of Spain from 1558 to 1572, and these took the lives of a number of Jesuits, some of whom had been assigned to hospital work. As for ministries engaging the fathers see Astrain, II, 524-552; and *ibid.,* II, 589, is the document containing the statement about the class in moral theology.

the profession of four vows, even though he had been in the Society only five years.[19]

His repute as a theologian brought him into demand elsewhere than in Valladolid. The Archbishop of Santiago de Galicia had summoned a provincial council.[20] The prelates were to congregate in the University of Salamanca in 1565. The Jesuit superiors were asked to send a representative and they ordered Pedro Sánchez to take part in the deliberations. Details of what transpired have not come down to us, but the learned priest's opinions were well received by the dignitaries who were well aware of his renown in the old university. Outside the council halls during the moments between sessions, the learned one was seen occupied in tasks calculated to be efficacious against any surgings of pride within him, such as digging in the dust and mud like an ordinary laborer and helping to repair the Jesuit house. Whatever the nobility and dignitaries may have thought of such work and its demeaning possibilities, it makes Pedro stand out to us as a man who had common sense enough to take exercise. Very likely he paid no attention to edified onlookers, any more than he did later in America when he wielded a shovel where new buildings were being erected.[21]

Prestige had its drawbacks. Shortly after the council disbanded and apparently while he was still in Salamanca word came from Rome to Sánchez that he was to remain in the city as rector of the Jesuit college. In preparation for the responsibilities of this office and for his profession,[22] with the permission of his superiors, he made a long pilgrimage afoot, carrying nothing with him, begging his food and lodging on his way to and from the shrine of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, somewhat more than

---

[19] *MHSJ, Laínez,* VII, 574, Araoz to Laínez, January 30, 1564. Later seventeen years of religious life in the Order were required before admission to the profession of four vows.

[20] The Provincial Council of Salamanca was held in 1565, according to a chart in *España,* Hijos de J. Espasa, Editores, Barcelona, 1925, 767. Pedro Sánchez was given some office by Cardinal Crivelli at this time, for Francis Borgia thanked the Cardinal for this in a letter dated July 28, 1565, in *MHSJ, Borgia,* IV, 26.

[21] Ms. Vida, 207.

[22] When Sánchez was recommended for the profession in January 1564, Laínez ordered that he be professed, *MHSJ, Laínez,* IV, 650, Laínez to Araoz, March 31, 1564. The Ms. Catalogues of the Mexican Province are at variance regarding the actual date of his profession, the one of 1576 stating it was June 15, 1567, and the one of 1580 giving July 10, 1567. Even the year may be wrong, since there was no reason for a delay of three years in a matter so important to the Jesuits. The Catalogues mention Father Carillo as the provincial accepting the said vows. Carillo did not assume his office until the end of 1565 when he and three other provincials were installed, Astrain, II, 454, 261.

a hundred miles south of Salamanca. The spectacle of pilgrims of his type on similar journeys was not unusual in Spain, but there is no record of the length of time Sánchez spent en route. Nor is it certain just when he returned for his profession and rectorship, although the years 1565 to 1568 seem to fit his first incumbency.[23] Whatever the opening date it was the beginning of about fifteen consecutive years as a superior. As Laínez died in January of 1565, Francis Borgia, elected general of the Company on July 2 of the same year,[24] very likely made the appointment.

Francis Borgia was inaugurating a series of important measures at the outset of his régime. His interest in foreign missions soon evinced itself in the designation of Fathers Rúiz del Portillo and Rogel for the evangelization of Florida, as will be explained later. For the urgent matter of improving conditions in Jesuit houses on the Iberian Peninsula, Borgia was particularly fitted by reason of his former position as *commissarius,* or general overseer, of all Hispanic provinces. He had destined Alcalá and Salamanca as centers of Jesuit training and education.[25] Since the recent Council of Trent had made regulations with respect to seminary life, Laínez and Borgia were bent upon having scholarly administrators in these renowned seats of learning. Perhaps this explains the choice of Sánchez. The rectors of all colleges were ordered to obtain sufficient incomes to support masters and to provide proper food and accommodations for students.[26]

Sánchez found the college of Salamanca heavily in debt, lacking in rentals for its sustenance, and unable to provide suitable food for the Jesuit students.[27] The problem was promptly attacked. He begged aid from well-to-do citizens, gradually setting aside sufficient amounts to liquidate the indebtedness almost entirely while at the same time caring well for the wants of his

---

[23] The beginning of Sánchez's rectorship at Salamanca may be put at 1565 for several reasons. Father Bartolomé Hernández was rector there as late as September 1564. Laínez wrote to Araoz September 11, 1564, telling him to change rectors at Salamanca, since the regular three year term of office was long finished, *MHSJ, Laínez,* VIII, 202; cf. also *Borgia,* IV, 631. Hernández is next mentioned by Polanco, Borgia's secretary, on August 10, 1565, *Borgia,* IV, 43; he is here appointed as one of the chaplains about to accompany the soldiers at war with the Turks. Sánchez apparently had been appointed rector prior to this last date. In 1566 Hernández was rector of the Jesuit house at Burgos, *Borgia,* IV, 339-340, and later was assigned to the Province of Peru.

[24] Astrain, II, 217. Shortly after this Borgia wrote to Cardinal Crivelli thanking him for some embarrassment he had saved Sánchez, *Borgia,* IV, 26.

[25] Astrain, II, 220.

[26] Astrain, II, 222.

[27] *MHSJ, Laínez,* VIII, 253, Laínez to Juan Suárez, October 17, 1564; cf. *MHSJ, Borgia,* IV, 52.

subjects in food, relaxation, and medicine. Although he was ever strict upon himself in diet and constantly devoted to prayer, the rector in no wise drove the younger members of the Order severely to a higher level of fidelity to regulations, but rather led them and inspired them as a true father to his household. He revived a failing spirit of energetic study and made cheerfulness prevail. The young Jesuits, sitting in at lectures with college students, were allowed to mingle more freely with them, and as a result a great number of vocations to the Society followed.[28]

Yet, despite the efforts of Sánchez the machinery of government in the Jesuit Order was not at this time complete, and, in fact, was creaking in places. The provincial, Carillo, having moulded himself along austere lines was too strict with his Province of Castile. There was danger at the time to the well-being of the Company in Spain because of strong leanings toward undue conservatism. Moreover, details of organization, a plan of studies, and codification of regulations for community life were in progress at Borgia's behests. Domestic tranquility was essential to developments of missions and education.

Under the circumstances it seemed necessary to call a provincial congregation and to appoint visitors for Spain. Father Gil González Dávila was selected as *visitador* for Castile, while the congregation of fathers, Sánchez among them, assembled in the *casa profesa* of Valladolid from Easter until Pentecost Sunday of 1568. At its conclusion Sánchez accompanied Gil González during his inspection of residences and colleges, which was not completed until October.[29] Two more likable personalities could not have been appointed. In the visitation and in the subsequent happy adjustments Sánchez played no small part. His judgment of the actions of the visitor and of prevailing conditions apparently was carefully weighed by Borgia, for among other things Sánchez recommended Gil Gonzáles Dávila for provincial, and forthwith the appointment was made. Sánchez himself acquired great experience in administrative affairs, crystalizing in a practical manner his ideas of the purposes and spirit of the Society, and acquainting himself widely with its membership. Moreover, he contributed his ideas toward a solution of many vexing problems. Dávila, a "mozo," as he called himself in 1568, went on to become one of the outstanding superiors of the Spanish assis-

[28] *Ibid.*, IV, 433; *Laínez*, VIII, 232; Astrain, II, 245, 246.
[29] For this section see Astrain, II, 266-267.

tancy and was one of the twelve fathers selected to formulate the *Ratio Studiorum*.[30] Finally, as for Doctor Sánchez, he was appointed rector of the Jesuit College of Alcalá.[31]

The new rector of Alcalá took over at the beginning of 1569 the burden of debt characteristic of Jesuit colleges. Apparently he had administered well in Salamanca. Although this new post was one of responsibility and honor, its financial status was such as to bring frowns of worry to the brow of an economist. Pedro did not worry, for like the saintly Borgia he had a steady trust in Providence. Back in the city of his youth, it became increasingly clear that he had lost none of the affection and esteem of former days. He won new friends by his preaching and ministries. Contributions came for the support of the college, and he was thus able once more to pay off a large part of the debts.[32] Thus his years from 1565 until 1571 were spent in valuable service to the two outstanding colleges of the Jesuits in Spain. Before his term as rector at Alcalá expired he was given an opportunity to display his talents for organization and government on a large scale in a magnificent venture which Francis Borgia had got under way in the New World. He was appointed provincial of the newly created Province of New Spain, destined to build there colleges modeled on Salamanca and Alcalá, which were to be seats of learning for generations of youths of Spanish America.

III

The Jesuits from their very foundation had been interested in foreign missions, owing especially to the labors of St. Francis Xavier in India. In his time Pedro Sánchez also conceived a desire to partake in the program of overseas evangelization. While Xavier was building missions in India, King John III of Portugal requested members to carry their twofold occupations of education and christianization to Brazil, wherefore Manuel da Nóbrega was sent in 1549 to that field. There within five years he had organized an independent province of the Company with both college foundations and missions in operations. Some Spanish fathers joined in the India and Brazilian enterprises; to others, letters from the foreign fronts proved highly inspiring. Requests began to go to Spain and Rome for Jesuit workers for the Span-

[30] Astrain, IV, 738-742, 2, 8.
[31] Alegambe, 398, says he began his rectorship in 1569.
[32] Neither college of Salamanca nor Alcalá were endowed until after Sánchez's time, Astrain, III, Chapter II.

ish lands of the two Americas, but, although Francis Borgia as *commissarius* of Spain and Portugal was favorably inclined, men were lacking.

It was not until the spring of 1565 that Borgia, as vicar general of the Jesuits, moved by an appeal of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, made his first appointments.[33] Menéndez who had been entrusted with the reconquest of Florida from the French corsairs, had very extensive if incoherent plans for the opening of the vast southeastern section of North America. Having heard of the young Order he petitioned Borgia, holding out the tempting bait that the field was wonderful and very near, even joined to "Tartary, China, . . . and Moluco,"[34] general goals of missionary dreams. Borgia commissioned Fathers Rúiz del Portillo and Juan Rogel to sail for the mission. They could not make the fleet leaving in 1565. During the wait, in March 1566, Philip II, urged vicariously by Menéndez, asked for twenty-four Jesuits. In May of that year Father Pedro Martínez as superior departed with Rogel and Brother Villarreal.[35] Martínez was slain in the early autumn, just about the time Portillo was appointed superior of all the Jesuits going anywhere in the Americas. In 1567 Philip again requested Jesuits for Florida and for Peru. Thereupon, Portillo was made provincial of a tremendous territory extending from Florida to Chile, in fine, all Spanish colonial America.[36] It was called the Province of Peru. He set about gathering men for the Americas. He appointed Father Bautista Segura as superior of the Florida region, denominating it a vice-province of Peru. On November 2, 1567, he sailed for Lima, via Panama. In March of 1568 Segura left for Florida—and martyrdom.[37] Florida be-

---

[33] *MHSJ, Borgia,* III, 798, Borgia to Rector of Madrid, May 12, 1565; *ibid.,* 797, Borgia to those going to Florida, same date.

[34] *Ibid.,* 762, Pedro Menéndez to Borgia, March 1565.

[35] For a general account and documents on this see Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S. J., "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," *Historical Records and Studies,* United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1935, Vol. XXV, 59-148.

[36] *MHSJ, Polanco Complementa,* II, 666-667; *MHSJ, Nadal,* III, 407. Portillo was told to send two to New Spain, *ibid., Borgia,* IV, 431-432. After hearing of the martyrdom (in a wide sense) of Martínez, Borgia was bent upon sending men to Florida or New Spain; the land was blessed, Borgia thought, but he wanted his men to be "not only animated by the desire of death but careful to preserve life in order the better to be employed in the service of God" *(Ibid., loc. cit.).* Portillo was decidedly opposed to the Florida enterprise, as his letters to Borgia show. See *MHSJ, Borgia,* IV, 486, 495, 514, three letters of 1567.

[37] Astrain, II, 292, 307-308, and Francisco Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España,* Mexico, 1842, I, 17, seem to confuse these two expeditions; Francisco Sacchini, *Historiae Societatis Jesu Pars Tertia,* Rome, 1649, 149, 200, has them distinct.

came an episode and by 1573 had dropped out of the ken of Jesuit activities.

El Doctor Pedro Sánchez was quite aware of the American *entradas* of the Society. Glowing accounts of the new field of labor were a source of inspiration to many of the Spanish fathers. His former master of novices away off in Peru was under instructions to build his province well. When Portillo had surveyed the scene in all its immensity, he arranged for new expeditions to the land of the Incas, which were soon forthcoming. But Portillo had no enthusiasm for either Menéndez or the prospects for missionary work among the forbidding Florida tribes, and hence emphasized the possibilities for progress among the more civilized natives. By 1571, when there were forty-four Jesuits in the College of Lima, his worst fears about Florida were confirmed by the martyrdom of the Segura band somewhere near the Rappahannock River. It was time for the Jesuits to go beyond resentful Florida to the cities of New Spain. King, viceroy, prelates, and citizens had been writing for fathers who might care for the youth, preach, and evangelize. Borgia then saw the futility of Florida,[38] recognized the needs of New Spain, and on July 15, 1571, he chose Father Sánchez for provincial.[39]

The rector of Alcalá took his marching orders like a soldier. He immediately began his preparations. That very evening he went out to the little mountain villa, Jesús del Monte, where all were gathered for a respite from the heat of Alcalá. There he broke the news to his community. As an instance of the veneration in which he was held it may be noted that his household was in consternation. But the rector, telling the brethren "I am no longer Pedro Sánchez but Pedro Mexicano," laughed away what others heard with grief, "for it was apparent that the college and province was losing a very valuable and beloved son, one on whom many hopes for progress in scholarship and virtue were pinned."[40] In the morning he was off for Guadalajara, taking with him a few happy fellow-appointees and leaving many envious ones behind. Other chosen companions resident in different cities were notified to gather in Seville.

---

[38] *MHSJ, Borgia,* V, 571, Borgia to Menéndez, March 20, 1571. Here Borgia tells Menéndez the bald truth about his Florida enterprise, in which the Jesuits labored without fruit in a terrible place. The cédula of Philip II to the Castile provincial, Manuel López, asking Jesuits for New Spain is in Alegre, I, 45.

[39] Alegre, I, 46, gives the letter. Sánchez had been recommended for a provincialate by Father Juan Bravo in February 1571, *MHSJ, Borgia,* V, 560.

[40] Ribas, I, 320.

From Guadalajara he made his way to Madrid, there to be received at court. Philip II tendered him a warm welcome, happy to have so notable a Jesuit going to his kingdom of the Indies.[41] Despatches and orders were hastily drawn up for the Council of the Indies, the House of Trade, and the viceroy of New Spain, in order to expedite matters pertaining to transport, lodging, food, and raiment.[42] When everything was arranged, the provincial armed with many official papers departed for Seville, where his cohort anxiously waited ready to embark on the fleet. He arrived on August 10, 1571, and was greeted by the other twelve of his province. To one just finished with his adieus to the Old World and looking forward to a trip to the New some dismaying information was promptly forthcoming. The fleet had set sail only that day!

Perhaps the tardiness of the provincial caused some disedification, and perhaps it did not, since in thus being late he continued a custom established by Nóbrega and Portillo. Nor did the number of Jesuits, thirteen, have anything to do with their bad luck, for the same fleet on its approach to the Mexican port of entry was almost entirely destroyed by a furious gale. The majority of the stranded Jesuits, now without means of support, were sustained as guests of the noble Señora Condesa de Niebla for their entire stay at San Lúcar de Barremeda. Their spirits momentarily picked up when they learned that the *Galeones* of Pedro Menéndez were to depart in January of 1572. By kingly permission all were allowed passage on one ship, the *San Felipe,* but before sailing time arrived some interested friends had persuaded them not to go on the boat because it was to make a roundabout trip. The *San Felipe* was lost with every soul aboard.[43]

While waiting for transportation Father Sánchez made an excursion from Seville to Madrid to see Francis Borgia who had come to Spain as a companion of Cardinal of Alexandria. The general and the provincial talked of the procedure to be adopted in the new land. Some changes were made in the personnel of

---

[41] Alegre, I, 47-48.

[42] Astrain, II, 300-301.

[43] The information in these paragraphs is drawn from *MHSJ, Borgia,* V, 631, 625; Ribas, I, 16-19, 320-322; Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations,* Chapter IV. Some minor details of the journey are added from a contemporary manuscript "Historia de las Cosas mas Dignas de Memoria . . . de la Compañía de Jesús en esta Provincia y Reynos de Nueva España: Decada Primera," Chapter 11. This manuscript covers in a general way the first ten years of Jesuit activity in Florida and Mexico; we have it in photostat from the European Archives. It was written before 1598 by one of the Jesuits in Mexico.

the thirteen and the number was augmented by two from Spain. Apparently at this time Sánchez was given jurisdiction over the Florida group of six (two priests, two lay-brothers, and two novices), for he was commissioned to act as visitor to the area. Clearly he could not be inspecting Havana and Florida and at the same time be building in Mexico, and consequently Sánchez deputed Father Antonio Sedeño to make the visitation. Furthermore, Sedeño was told to repair as soon as possible to Mexico to arrange for lodgings and to announce the coming of the Jesuits to the viceroy. Incidentally, Borgia contributed out of his alms 200 ducats for books, the opening donation toward the large Jesuit library of Mexico City. Sánchez having finished his business returned with the general's blessing to the Jesuit college of Seville.

IV

The Jesuits under Sánchez after their long wait were finally on the wharves as part of one of the most stirring scenes in all the pageantry of colonial times. Twice a year the fleet and the galleons of Spain weighed anchor and passed down the Guadalquivir River into the ocean, loaded with colonists, officials, commodities, animals, and passengers, cleared for the fairs and cities of Spain's western empire. At any sailing the gamut of human emotions was run—the enthusiasm of the adventurer, the determination of the merchant, the trepidation of the colonizer, the expectancy of the missionary. Whether the Jesuits felt the heartaches of departure from homeland or shared the common fear of storms and pirates cannot be stated with certainty. The Jesuits gathered for the embarkation on June 13, 1572, were eight priests, three unordained students of theology, and four coadjutor brothers.

Among the well-wishers was the Duke of Sidonia who had a very great liking for the provincial. While Sánchez was tarrying in Seville the Duke tried unsuccessfully to dissuade him from going west, only to end up by bestowing many valuable gifts upon the group, money to insure good care, ornaments for the church they would build. He accompanied Sánchez to the anchorages, but evidently did not have complete confidence in the navigator of the boats, for in his apprehensiveness lest the Jesuits might be run aground on the old sand bar of San Lúcar he ordered out his own tender to carry them down the river for embarkation below the obstruction.

Before the ship was far out on the high seas Sánchez and his companions had given it the aspect of a floating chapel, what with dispensing religious instruction to passengers and crew and carrying on religious exercises as regularly as the bells. The first port of call was the Grand Canary. In the vicinity of the Canaries forty Jesuits en route to Brazil had been slain by pirates in 1570 and five more in 1571. Now in 1572 those on the way to New Spain may have looked upon the islands with misgivings or with anticipation of shedding their blood. If such were the different sentiments of Sánchez's group there was disappointment all around three days afterwards, when the ships once again safely put out into the deep. The three days were spent profitably by the fathers in preaching to the people and in hearing confessions. On the material side the Jesuits packed aboard a number of books for their library. These had been bequeathed them by the late bishop prior to his death in memory of salutary missionary work done by Father Diego López, the rector of the Mexican house-to-be, on an earlier visit.

Surely voyagers of those days were grateful for small favors. The three months' trip of this particular fleet afforded cause for deep gratitude in that no violent storm wrecked the craft and nobody in the whole fleet died of a pestilence which broke out in mid-ocean. Discomforts long since removed from travel by our machine age were ordinary events of the day for people having their precarious being on a sixteenth-century caravel or merchantman. Although a sum of 2,000 ducats had been sent to Spain by an Alonzo Villaseca of Mexico to defray the Jesuits' expenses of travel, King Philip II dispensed with this gratuity, preferring to have the fathers depend upon his royal munificence. The quality of the said munificence seems not to have been strained, since six of the future educators were crowded into one room, while each was given a slim wardrobe consisting of one black duster, a mattress, a bolster, a blanket, to say nothing of one and a half reals of silver (seven or eight cents) for food.[44] Still, high in hopes the party made the second port of call at Ocoa on Cuba, and on September 9 all arrived happily at the old city of Vera Cruz. They were greeted by Father Sedeño, Brother Salcedo, and a delegation of townsmen.

The sea-weary Black Robes were hard put to it avoiding receptions and cordial invitations springing from civic pride. The people and some of the wealthier merchants, who had residences

[44] Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México,* II, 328.

outside the coastal city (a place much disliked, by the way, for its pestilential airs) wished the Jesuits to take up their abode with them. A deputy from the *Inquisidor* of Mexico City was on hand to prepare a stately caravan to assure comfortable travel. An entourage of this type, however, did not appeal to Sánchez's sense of poverty and modesty. Moreover, the royal officials of the port had been charged by the king to see to the needs of the journey. Somehow the king's orders were not accompanied by funds, and hence Sánchez chartered a pack train of mules to carry the library, the bundles, and even the *padres* whenever one felt inclined to assume an ill-fitting perch between packages adorning the animals.

The way was some 200 miles into the highlands. It led first to Puebla de los Angeles, where on September 21 the wayfarers were greeted by an enthusiastic gathering of townsfolk, gentry, and clergy. Embarrassment overcame the Jesuits thus being hailed as conquerors by a festive-minded city. Notables begged Sánchez to open a college. Shelter was offered, and accepted for one father who had been stricken ill. But the provincial as soon as his band was rested pushed on until the sight of the North American metropolis greeted his eyes. Then there was a delay until night could cloak the entry of his band against further civic demonstrations. On September 28, 1572, he led his province to the Hospital de Jesús where Sedeño had made arrangements for lodging. The next day Sánchez officially presented his credentials to the Viceroy and the Archbishop and then allowed demonstrations of hospitality to run their course.

V

Once on the scene of his great triumph Doctor Pedro Sánchez began to meet, to estimate, and to solve numerous problems of adjustment to environment and of provincial organization. He was in the prime of life, vigorous in health, anxious to work at his task, but neither over-cautious nor over-enthusiastic. His Province of New Spain was vast in territory, limited in manpower, and altogether lacking in buildings and physical equipment. His first major objective was the establishment of a Jesuit center of activity in the capital of the New World. This would be a large building with rooms for the Jesuits and lecture halls for college students. Other halls or colleges for lodging students with bursaries would have to be founded in the vicinity, just as at Alcalá and Salamanca. He planned according to instructions

from Borgia to wait two years before embarking on the teaching program. From this firmly laid center the Jesuit system of education would extend college by college to other cities of the land. Thus Sánchez outlined his general campaign and then proceeded to attack specific problems.

Letters recording the lack of college facilities for the youth of New Spain clearly revealed the need of a systematized attack on ignorance. So convinced were parents and officials of the dangers accruing because of the moral and intellectual neglect of the Spanish and creole youths in Mexico and other cities of the kingdom, that they hailed with great joy and confidence the leader who could formulate educational policies for their own and future generations. Consequently, the idea of Jesuit education had been "sold" to New Spain before the fathers ever arrived. The good will of the citizens toward the Jesuits was enhanced by the general's selection of Sánchez and others of ability. Sánchez's main concern was checking the impatience of those who wished to establish a college at the very sight of a Jesuit. He was properly on his guard against white elephants. The king had instructed him to tell all petitioners that their wishes would be granted in due time.

It would have been impossible for Sánchez to begin a college immediately in Mexico City, first because his entire troop of Jesuits became ill of yellow fever and remained confined in the hospitals of Mexico and Santa Fé, some for more than a month. Father Bazán died at the end of October. The three scholastics were sent to the Dominican house of studies for their final year of theology before ordination. Two recently ordained fathers were completing their tertianship and were not fully available for teaching. Besides, the province had neither habitat nor classrooms. Viceroy Enríquez made no move to give land or buildings, the fault being not his but His Majesty's. The king for all his prerogatives as Royal Patron of the Church, in spite of his expressions of affection for the Company, gave nothing toward the foundation of the Jesuit college.[45] Neither did his officials. Financially

[45] Cuevas, II, 333. The Jesuit historians of colonial times, Ribas, Florencia, and Alegre, regularly praised the Spanish kings for their good will toward the Company and were careful to indicate each time royal expressions favorable to the Jesuits were written; they tactfully omit mentioning royal neglect in the matter of financial support. If the kings had contributed anything to the Jesuits, the historians would have been considerably in a dither about the gift or allotment. The Archivo General of Mexico City and the Biblioteca National have *legajo* after *legajo* of financial statements of the various convents, churches, schools, and colleges which would repay the

the king had practically no part in the foundation of the Jesuit educational system which later evolved. His contribution terminated with the meagre outfitting of the first members who same to Mexico. The small amount given by him in 1583 to San Ildefonso College cannot be said to have been a contribution to the Jesuits, for it went toward the support of a distinct collegial group. The actions of Sánchez as to financial matters leave the impression of his awareness that he could not depend on the royal coffers for any substantial support.[46]

The housing problem was solved at the end of 1572. A description of the characters and events illustrates the method by which each link in the chain of Jesuit colleges throughout the Americas was founded economically. Mexico City had some of the four-score of Jesuit colleges in the New World. It had also a founder outstanding among a hundred of his type. A man of the mines, wealthy, elderly Alonzo Villaseca, became the object of undying gratitude on the part of the Jesuits by reason of his few words and generous action. The sons of Ignatius have left him enshrined in the pages of their histories as the great benefactor, adviser, and financial founder of the Jesuit stronghold of education in Mexico.

Alonzo was born into a rich family living at Arsisola in Spain, not far from the place where Pedro Sánchez was born poor[47] He came to New Spain at an early age for purposes of gentleman farming and mining. He invested his money profitably in both enterprises. For a wife he chose Francisca Morón, an heiress whose riches were estimated by *haciendas* and herds. On one *hacienda* alone 20,000 yearlings were branded annually. All investments seemed to turn to gold at the touch of Alonzo, new lands proving suddenly fertile, products of new mines assaying high. He and Francisca then came to be rated as possibly the richest people in all the Americas. Alonzo cared little for his vast riches and had less opportunity to spend them. Secretly and by pious subterfuges he bestowed alms on the poor, "por el amor de Dios." His benefactors in New Spain were uncountable. They extended far beyond Mexico, even to Pope Pius IV for the build-

---

investigation of one who wished to know who in reality supported parish, mission, and education in the colonies.

[46] In a letter to the king dated December 12, 1572, published in Astrain, II, 303, Sánchez thanks His Majesty for the good accommodations given his province by land and sea. The provincial therefore delayed three months before writing his thanks; meantime alms had taken care of the Jesuits.

[47] Ribas, I, 83-86, has a chapter on "the notable virtues, death, and funeral of the noble and pious caballero." Alegre, I, 175-177, concurs with the preceding.

ing of San Pedro in Rome, to the poor of the Holy City, to the Isle of Rhodes for the construction of the town and church ruined by the Great Turk. And no one would have known this secret giving if revealing letters had not turned up after his death.[48]

A duel of giving had indeed been going on between a smiling Providence and Alonzo Villaseca, each endeavoring to outdo the other in generosity, and the more Alonzo gave to God's needy the more God gave to him. The guiding motive for his benefactions was assuredly the same as that of Sánchez, though the contributions of the one were in the realm of the material and those of the other were in the realm of education and ministries. Alonzo, then, came to give the Jesuits of his money, his valuable advice, and his heirs, and thus backing the fathers he invested heavily in the education of the youth of America. The circumstances which aroused his interest in the Jesuits remain unrevealed secrets, but in his desire to have the boys of Mexico educated, he had written to the heads of the Society in Europe years before the arrival of the Company in New Spain, offering to defray transportation expenses and build a house or college for those who would be sent his way. No Jesuits were available at the time. When finally they were lodged in the hospital, word of them apparently got to his estates some eighteen leagues north of Mexico City.

Recalling his habit of making donations unostentatiously and even anonymously, we are not surprised at the lack of documentation for Alonzo's gifts large and small to the Jesuits. First off, he sent smaller sums beginning with 100 pesos. On November 6, 1572, he gave Sánchez 26,500 pesos. Next he offered some lots. The provincial called together the fathers for consultation about accepting them, and as Viceroy Enríquez was making no move to assign property, Sánchez and his consultors decided to go out secretly to investigate the proffered property. That night, December 11 or 12, they went to the site, a few squares off the main plaza toward the lake. They beheld a square of unkempt land supporting several burro sheds. Now why had Villaseca chosen this place as a gift rather than lots in a cleaner and more healthy place? Alonzo, they concluded, must have had good reasons behind his offer. Time proved the value of the property and the

[48] His only daughter was of course sought in marriage even by titled señores of Old Spain, but she chose a rich youth of Mexico, thus causing the family fortune to "pyramid" beyond estimation. All would have been inherited by Alonzo's two grandsons, had not the eldest surrendered his portion on entering the Society of Jesus, in which he lived as a teacher in the Colegio Máximo long years before he there died a holy death.

astuteness of Villaseca. As for the Jesuits, they and their successors did not leave the spot from the evening in 1572 when they first beheld it until 1767. Sánchez accepted it. He and the others set to work with brushes, shovels, and hammers, making a habitation out of sheds, while reserving one of the straw-roofed huts for a chapel where Masses were said in the morning. On its site later there was erected the main doorway of the Colegio Máximo, rated as the most important educational structure among all the eighty-seven developed by the Jesuits in colonial Hispanic America.

Sums had been added by Alonzo until his total gifts amounted in 1575 to 88,830 pesos and at the end of the next year to about 150,000 pesos. He was named founder of the college in 1578. Because of his bequests he was asked to submit a name for the college which by reason of his choice was known for 190 years legally as El Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. Sánchez on his part had to expend money expeditiously and frequently sought advice. On one occasion there was question of investment in lands for income, since banks did not exist. He intended to buy some lots in Mexico City, but first asked Villaseca what he thought of the idea. Alonzo was the soul of discouragement and told the provincial to invest in cheaper property or farm lands outside the city. When he was asked where precisely to buy the gruff *caballero* turned away in silence. And so Sánchez and a companion started out aimlessly for the outskirts of the city, letting Providence guide their steps to the north. There beyond the lake they found quite by accident some excellent land which was purchased very cheaply. Coadjutor brothers and workmen sent to farm the estate cultivated it well, so well that for years to come it assured the college of food. Villaseca's beneficences continued, even though illness confined him to his bed. He died on September 8, 1580, before he could behold the complete development of his college. The viceroy, ecclesiastics, and religious attended the interment of his body in the college after nine days of magnificent obsequies.[49]

During 1573 the provincial was very busy. Friendly Indians were organized to the number of 3,000 who joyfully constructed

[49] Alegre, I, 176. The officials of New Spain insisted upon this manifestation of respect for Alonzo in view of a great service he had rendered the kingdom. An insurrection of the people had occurred some years before against the Audiencia then ruling instead of the viceroy. Alonzo gathered up a force of 200 horsemen, quelled the disturbance, and out of his own goods remedied the disorder.

a temporary church at one end of the property, and then in April joined with the citizens in an elaborate dedicatory service of the wood structure. The location of the Jesuit site gave rise to some objections on the part of established convents whose parochial boundaries seemed to be infringed upon, but the affair was ironed out agreeably to all. Plans had to be drafted and the construction of the college building had to be supervised. Since Sedeño reported so unfavorably on the Florida Indians and Menéndez, Father Rogel and his two companions were called to Mexico from Havana by Sánchez.[50] New candidates applying for admission to the Society had to be examined; for these a novitiate was begun. Arrangements for the ordination of three student theologians were necessary; then Sánchez established the young priests in their tertianship, or final probation. A farm given to the Jesuits was soon turned into a productive villa and was named by the provincial whimsically enough Jesús del Monte after the Alcalá villa. It soon supplied food for the larder and healthful recreation for the Jesuit students of the college. The Jesuits were distributed for preaching, all day catechetical work, and for missionary excursions to nearby towns, while the Padre Doctor was regularly called upon for sermons. Most important of all, definite strides were made toward organizing the educables of the city into groups legally founded as colleges and *convictorios.* The first of these *colegios* was named Santa María de Todos Santos. Sánchez after long conferences with sponsors had them set aside money for fifteen bursaries. The second, a seminary group, was named San Pedro y San Pablo. In both instances the provincial was the originator, legislator, and founder of the typical European colleges. He had also to see to the housing of the youthful collegians and to their preliminary instruction.[51]

Progress continued in 1574. Sánchez journeyed to the great mining town, Zacatecas, almost 400 miles by road to the northwest of Mexico City to investigate possibilities for a college. He found the citizens eager, but could only promise them a foundation as soon as he could obtain men for it. On his return to the capital he could be found supervising carpenters, preaching, de-

[50] Letter of Sedeño to Borgia, February 12, 1572, in Ugarte, "First Jesuit Mission," *loc. cit.,* 112-116, especially 115, where Sedeño says: "There will be no use in our staying here, for we can do nothing for the Florida Indians." No support was being given to the Jesuits in Havana by Menéndez, Alegre, I, 66. However, no sooner did they arrive in Mexico than the king ordered them back to Havana, *ibid.,* 80. They obediently returned but finally had to give up their project in 1574 because of absolute penury.

[51] For the details of these developments cf. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations,* Chapter VI, *et. seq.*

bating theological problems with professors of the Old University of Mexico, or arranging adolescents into college groups. Thus were added the colleges of San Gregorio, San Bernardo, San Miguel to those founded in 1573. On the arrival of six new men from Spain in September, Sánchez gave orders to begin teaching in the Colegio Máximo. Undoubtedly there was happiness in his heart when classes opened on October 18 with academic fanfare worthy of European universities. Three hundred students were in attendance. With the educational center of the Jesuits well grounded, the provincial promptly went west over the mountains to Pátzcuaro to accept foundation money for a college there. Four Jesuits were assigned for the beginning. Meantime, two were sent to Oaxaca to reconnoiter in response to pressing invitations from the southeast.

Days of sorrow and hours of worry, nevertheless, were part of the life of Sánchez. An indescribably dreadful plague of small pox scourged New Spain during 1575 and 1576, taking an estimated two-thirds of the Indian peoples. Some Jesuits spent the entire time administering to the stricken in homes, hospitals, and streets. Sánchez had found a sturdy friend in Pedro Caltzontzín, the last of the line of native kings of Michoacán. The ravaging plague cut down the noble just as he was admitted to the Company. Shortly afterwards, Juan Curiel, the rector of the new college at Pátzcuaro, one of Sánchez's students and emulators, was taken while caring for the Indians. Poverty and want were worries in Pátzcuaro and Oaxaca. Disputes regarding the *cannas,* legalities about foundations, a fire which destroyed the school building in Pátzcuaro in 1578, and the arrival of two troublemakers within his own ranks, were each sources of concern. One disturber, erring on the side of austerity, Alonzo Sánchez, was later sent to missionize the Philippines, where he became famous; the other, Lanuchi, who refused to teach the pagan classics, was returned to Italy.

Moments of joy were interspersed with those of anxiety. In 1576 higher studies were inaugurated in the Colegio Máximo on the arrival of twelve new helpers. Two were so renowned for their erudition, Hortigosa and Rubio, that they served as lecturers in both the Old University and in the Jesuit college. Sánchez himself gave lectures on moral theology for local clergymen in the residence of Archbishop Moya de Contreras. The college of Oaxaca was opened. Preliminary steps were taken to begin smaller schools in Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Morelia. The

provincial made agreements in 1578 with the Old University regents regarding interchanges of students, lecturers, and degrees. And, what was very important for the future, Sánchez during these years was preparing men for missionary work among the Indians, directing them to study the languages and sending them among the peoples around Mexico City, Pátzcuaro, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Puebla, and Oaxaca. Why the fathers did not go immediately among the natives is clear from the orders of the king, who, while he wished the conversion of the infidels, wanted the Jesuits to go to missions from founded colleges. It would really seem then, in the light of Philip's failure to support the Jesuit colleges, that he had little intention of supporting their missionary program.[52] And this makes the achievement of Sánchez in building a province from the ground up all the more remarkable.

According to the Jesuit rules of procedure the provincial was appointed for three years, on the completion of which a second term might be given, as was done in the case of Sánchez. Only under most extraordinary circumstances was the provincial to remain in office more than six years. It was quite reasonable for the Padre Doctor then in 1577 when he had labored arduously for six years at the construction of his province to remind the general, Mercurian, of a successor. Apparently, no word came from Rome on the matter. Sánchez called a provincial congregation for October 5, 1577, whose purpose was to elect from among the fathers in Mexico two procurators to present petitions of their province at Rome and at the court of Madrid.[53] The fathers called into session sent their memorial to Mercurian. They asked for a visitor; they suggested that he be Juan de la Plaza who had just concluded a visitation of Peru; they requested Plaza as their next provincial. They elected Father Díaz to carry the message across the Atlantic.

The general named Plaza as *visitador* in 1578, and, months before the latter made his appearance in Mexico, designated him by letter under date of January 31, 1579, as provincial, once he would have completed his visitation of the Province of New Spain.[54] Plaza landing far to the south made his way gradually via Guatemala up to Mexico by December 1579, when he opened an inspection lasting for a year. He found the letter of appoint-

---

[52] Alegre, I, 153. Father Alegre who was one of the Jesuits exiled from New Spain in the suppression of 1767 is exceedingly choice in his words, but nevertheless brings out the idea.

[53] *Acta* of the Provincial Congregation, Archives of the Mexican Province.

[54] The letter is in Alegre, I, 161.

ment to the provincialate awaiting him. He was instructed by the general in the same letter to make good use of the abilities of Pedro Sánchez, whose virtues and talent were well known throughout the realm. This is high testimony to the founder's worth, if one considers that Plaza, who himself had received votes for the generalate at the time of the election of Mercurian (1573), was told to profit by Sánchez's judgment and experience. The only disorders found within the jurisdiction of the incumbent was a dispute over several types of prayer, and the mild turmoil created by Lanuchi's puritanism and Alonzo Sánchez's quietism. Although there is no available contemporary evidence in proof it seems safe to state that Sánchez and Plaza worked well together. The visitation was concluded on November 11, 1580,[55] and hence Sánchez resigned his office then, though it had officially terminated in January of the preceding year.

As a result of the arrival of Plaza only at the end of 1579 and of the co-management of provincial affairs until the end of 1580, credit for several important educational and missionary developments during the two years must go to the founder of the province. In May of 1578 Pedro Sánchez, on receiving word from Puebla of the renewal of an offer for a college foundation, and envisioning excellent opportunities, betook himself beyond the towering volcanoes to this second most important city of New Spain. There he went through the customary legal processes, affixing his signature to deeds to land purchased with money from a bequest. Alms significant of the good will of the citizens paid early expenses for a few teachers and missionaries at the Jesuit residence. In 1580 a budding college was being conducted by eleven fathers, brothers, and scholastics. Thereafter the growth continued until Puebla had a Jesuit college which rivaled the Colegio Máximo of Mexico City, and in time it became a center with five colleges and seminaries.[56]

For the missionary phase of the Jesuit development Sánchez sent two fathers and twelve younger Jesuits outside Mexico City to an Indian village principally to study the native languages as a preparation for ordination and missionary life. This was done in 1579, but in 1580 Plaza felt it was impossible to sustain the Jesuits there, and therefore the fathers were moved to nearby Tepotzotlán. This primitive Indian village site through the efforts of the Jesuits later became graced by a missionary college, a

[55] *Ibid.*, I, 178.
[56] Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations,* Chapter XII.

novitiate, a seminary for Indians, and one of the most elaborately beautiful churches in all Mexico. The social and religious developments which occurred in Tepotzotlán deserve a monograph.

The second missionary enterprise inaugurated by the far-sighted provincial had to do with the Jesuit advance into the Philippine Islands. Philip II was interested in these outposts of his colonial empire. The route to the Islands lay over Mexico. Of urgent need for the firm occoupation and development expected by the king and his viceroy in New Spain was the missionary influence. In Spain the usual dearth of religious men for the project prevailed. Letters from the bishop of the Islands to the king, from the king to the Jesuit general, from the general to the viceroy and to Sánchez, had their effect. Plaza in his capacity as visitor sent Alonzo Sánchez and Antonio Sedeño across the Pacific on the Manila Galeon in 1580. This was quite an extension of the Mexican Province.

VI

A great happiness came to "Pedro Mexicano" as he dropped the burden of responsibility and returned to the ranks. The membership of Jesuits in Mexico had increased notably during his régime. It had grown from 47 in 1576 to 101 in 1580, of whom 53 were native born Mexicans admitted to the Company by the learned founder. They were engaged in studies, lecture halls, secondary classrooms, Indian schools, missions, social organization, parochial ministries, hospitals, and farming. The spirit of the province was high; the feeling of the colonials and Indians was cordial toward Sánchez and his men. A certain confidence in themselves bred of the conviction among the Creoles that qualified instructors, scholars, and schools had come to remain led to a notable regeneration of intellectual pursuits.

As might have been expected the services of the ex-provincial were in considerable demand. He was still in excellent health. His prestige and learning could nowhere be of greater service, it was felt, than in the Colegio Máximo. To its halls he was assigned. There for three years, beginning probably in October 1581, he was professor of theology, reading his lectures as of old at Alcalá on the section *de Angelis*. Every Sunday and feast day over a period of twenty-five years his energetic sermons were heard from one or other pulpit.

His second professorial assignment was to the growing College of Puebla, and the superiors in the new center of learning

appointed him to explain moral theology for three years. In 1586, Aquaviva, the general, suggested that if there was ever need he could be made rector of the Colegio Máximo.[57] During his spare time he wrote a work in three volumes which for many years had far-reaching influence on the spiritual life of religious and laity in Europe as well as in the Americas. He entitled it *Libro de Reyno de Dios, y del camino por donde se alcança.* It was a series of practical treatises on virtues, instructions and practices necessary for the attainment of Christian perfection in any walk of life, and illustrative examples drawn from lives of the saints. The first edition in 965 pages, published at Madrid in 1594, was followed by three others in Spanish, 1599, 1605, 1616; two in German, 1610, 1611; and three in French, 1608, 1609, 1669.[58] Those acquainted with the famed ascetical work of Alonso Rodríguez, *Exercicio de Perfeccion,* which ran through scores of editions in many languages, may be interested to know that Rodríguez's work was written along similar lines to Sánchez's but was first published in 1609, fifteen years after the *Libro de Reyno de Dios.*

As far as particular Jesuit institutions were concerned, one stood forth as a great source of pride to the provinces of Europe —the House of the Professed Fathers or *Casa Profesa.* It was the intention of St. Ignatius to have the fathers who had taken the four vows live together as mendicants, offering their services of whatever kind freely and depending absolutely for their subsistence upon the alms of the faithful. When colleges came into existence as institutions of the Jesuits, endowments were sought so that the service of education might be carried on *gratis,* and only by dispensations were colleges permitted to take minimum tuitions and stipends in case no founders came forward.[59] The colleges as corporations could own goods and have rentals for their support, even though individual Jesuits staffing them could not own anything by reason of their vow of poverty; but the professed houses could in no case have rentals or goods, and hence

---

[57] Aquaviva to Mendoza, September 9, 1586, in Mexican Province Archives. In another letter of the general to the provincial, Mendoza, dated January 15, 1590, Sánchez was appointed consultor of the province.

[58] For this see Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Brussels-Paris, VII (1885), 529; for Rodríguez see *ibid.,* VI, 1946-1963. The Ms. Vida of Sánchez, 225, says that Pedro practiced what he preached in the book. Permission for a Mexican edition was given, Aquaviva to Páez, March 1598, Mexican Province Archives.

[59] Ribas, I, 232-298, gives a very ample account of the Casa Profesa. Ribas was its rector from 1649-1651, J. V. Jacobsen, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," MID-AMERICA, XX (April 1938), 91.

any *casa profesa,* as most closely approximating the ideal of Ignatius Loyola, was looked upon as a necessary establishment for the complete rounding out of a province. It was the abode wherein strict adherence to the constitutions of the Society was expected; it was the headquarters of the spirit and virtue of a province. Fathers living in such residences were allowed by permission to use only what was really essential in food, diet, apparel, and lodging. Now the Province of New Spain could not hope for a crowning glory of the kind during the provincialate of Sánchez, since it had only four professed fathers. Yet not many years passed before its founder was called upon to establish the Casa Profesa of Mexico City and to be the first rector. Pedro's Colegio Máximo is today pretty much dismantled, but *La Profesa* in the heart of Mexico City remains one of the historical monuments of a great colonial Christian past. Its origin may be stated briefly.

The group of fathers living in the Colegio Máximo had been from the beginning occupied severally with religious ministries and with studies. The administrative need to separate those engaged solely in works of a parochial nature from those engaged in education became apparent. Under the circumstances of organized parochial jurisdictions a new parish was out of the question. What the Jesuits wished was first a residence from which they could go to the aid of any of the parishes, visit the hospitals, the jails, the sick, and the dying, and secondly a church for sermons, novenas, and confessions at any hour of the day or night. Such activities had been part of the daily life of Father Sánchez. Neither he nor his companions wished to have in the church attached to their professed house the ordinary sources of stipend money, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, because the exercise of these ministries might easily cause difficulties with the clergy to whose respective parishes such functions belonged.

When word of the projected church and residence in the civic center got around, a relative of one of the fathers in 1584 bequeathed 4,000 pesos toward the purchase of a house in the business area of the city. On the death of the donor this stipulation in his will had to be considered by the courts and officials. Archbishop Moya de Contreras, who was at the same time viceroy, governor, first inquisitor, and *visitador* of New Spain, acting in the name of king and Church, granted license to the Jesuits for the *casa profesa* as described. This was done in 1585 and confirmed in 1592 by Viceroy Velasco, but the money was far from

sufficient for the complete independence of the house. Founders were sought. Volunteers came forward in 1592 in the persons of the king's treasurer, Don Juan Luis de Rivera, and his wife. They offered 50,000 pesos for the beginning, whereupon papers were drawn and signed on February 3, 1592, by the founders, the officials, the Jesuit *visitador,* Avellaneda, and the provincial, Pedro Díaz. Having concluded their obeisance to legality four fathers within a few hours moved into the already purchased building, took formal possession, and set up altars for Masses. All through the morning of February 4 priests of the Colegio and parishes of the city were dropping in to say their Masses in the improvised chapel. And shortly after this time Pedro Sánchez took up his abode there as the first rector of the incipient Casa Profesa.[60]

Evidences of good will to the contrary notwithstanding, a suit was promptly launched in the ecclesiastical court in protest against the Jesuit occupancy within the *cannas* or boundaries of local convents.[61] Sánchez resigned himself to watching the legal entanglement run its course in various courts during the three years of his incumbency, suffering meanwhile the inconveniences of narrow quarters and poverty. During this period while brains were being cudgeled toward a decision in Rome and Madrid, the litigants, it is noteworthy, mingled on most friendly terms. Such legal jousts, it seems, were welcomed outlets for men keen about the study of canons and procedures, and, as frequently happened, when all was over both parties to the suit fraternized amicably. This particular affair appears to have been one of the most useless of its kind, in view of the licenses, approbations, and purposes of the Casa Profesa. Of course construction of the church was expressly prohibited by the Audiencia until June 1595 when Cardinal Cajetan, Papal Nuncio at Madrid, settled the suit to the applause, actually, of Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. So much publicity was given to the Casa and so widespread an interest aroused that once the way was clear valuable contributions were immediately forthcoming from all sides.

---

[60] According to the Acts of the Provincial Congregation dated January 21, 1592, Sánchez at this time held no office. Ribas, I, 235, says he was made *prepósito,* or superior, after the opening of the house on February 3. Alegre, I, 271, has his appointment as rector among the events of 1594. The conclusion is that Sánchez was made superior in 1592, but no official appointment came from the general until 1594. A petition for the general's official sanction of the Casa Profesa was made by the Congregation of 1592 and the answer returned only in 1594.

[61] For this suit see Ribas, I, 236-239, and Alegre, I, 251, 296-297. Both give the documentary decision of Cardinal Cajetan.

The efforts of the rector and his community unquestionably had much to do with the cheery manner in which the verdict was welcomed in the capital. The old worn cassock of the Padre became a familiar sight around the city.[62] His instructions to the people and his lectures on moral theology to the clergy won him favor in the eyes of all. "In him," says Alegre, "all the qualities of a Christian orator were combined. From his lips difficult mysteries came forth in their clearest light, and his admirable energy could make vivid the most common truths. A venerable presence, a sonorous voice, and above all an irreprehensible life gave much grace and great authority to all his discourses."[63] At home he distributed the time and the labors of the other fathers and by his organization closely approximated the ideal mode of life expected in a professed house. Apparently his hospitality did away with stiffness and formality, for Jesuits of the other communities wished to live where Pedro was.[64] They frequently paid him visits, so much so that the general wrote to the province telling the fathers, scholastics, and novices to curtail the number of visits to the Casa Profesa.[65] Externs of every walk of life coming for guidance, for consolation, or for confession always found the porter ready with a welcome at the sound of the bell. One of the fathers gained great renown for the group in a highly public way. A prisoner in the jail condemned to die for a crime was brought to the very foot of the gallows. The father attending him asked the hangman for a stay in the execution until he could consult the court. To the surprise of witnesses the petition was granted and the father rushed away. He indicated to the judge flaws in the process of trial and proved the innocence of the accused. The judge ordered the execution stopped, and at the re-trial the accused was freed.[66] This event proved to all that spiritual work among prisoners was far from fruitless.

Because of the accessibility of the fathers, their zeal, and the gratuity of their ministries, in short because of the type of service rendered, a distinct identity was rapidly fastened on the house of Sánchez. Just as the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo stood forth as an educational center, so La Profesa became a

---

[62] Ms. Vida, 222.

[63] Alegre, I, 272.

[64] Ms. Vida, 228.

[65] Aquaviva to the Provincial Congregation, 1594, Mexican Province Archives. The general also limited the number in the house to six.

[66] Alegre, I, 273. Ribas has page after page of recitals of astonishing and edifying events, including diabolical possessions, to which fathers residing in the Casa were witness.

spiritual center, and each contributed equally toward fashioning the missionary spirit which guided Black Robes in the Jesuit advance into the northern frontier. The men of the Casa led in a great spiritual revival and played no little part in bolstering the morale of the colony. In particular, they were at the beck not only of the Spanish gentry and Creoles in moments of trial and distress but also of the Indians, Negroes, meztizos, and neglected elements of the social scheme.[67] Besides moving among the people the fathers conducted special devotions every Sunday and feast day throughout the afternoon, consisting of organ and instrumental music, choir and community singing, sermons, and prayers. Saturdays and eves of festivals were occupied with confessions; people came in so great numbers at times that fathers from the college was requisitioned to aid. During the week special seasonal services were held. Moreover, children were instructed, and preparatory training was given to Indian boys sent into the city by the clergy of outlying districts, who thought the youths might have vocations to the clerical state.

The contribution to social progress for which Father Sánchez became especially celebrated in church work was his foundation of a confraternity that lasted for two hundred years under the name of the Congregación del Salvador. It was distinct among various sodalities established under Jesuit auspices in colonial times for the spiritual betterment of the laity. Generally these groups had as their object devotion to and imitation of the Blessed Virgin attended by practices of the temporal works of mercy on behalf of the neighbor.[68] From the viewpoint of the sociologist such Marian societies have proved noteworthy and practical organizations. The Anunciata Congregation founded under Sánchez in 1574 in the Colegio Máximo had sections for students, for seminarians, and for priests of the city. It spread later to other colleges. Daily each member was committed to attend or say Mass, recite the rosary, and read some spiritual book, while on Sunday all met together for common prayer and instruction. Each section was to practice some particular work of charity, such as gathering food, clothing, and medicine for distribution to the poor, or instructing the ignorant, or gathering funds for the publication of instructive and pious booklets. Many

---

[67] Ms. Vida, 222; Ribas, I, 267.

[68] Gerardo Decorme, S. J., La Obra de los Jesuitas en México durante la época colonial, a manuscript history about to be published, has a fine chapter on the various sodalities. The Ms. Vida mentions Del Salvador; Ribas, I, 269-274, has a chapter on it.

a man of illustrious name was helped in his efforts toward a more perfect life by practicing the prescribed duties of the Anunciata. Similar sodalities were formed in time for each class of people in the land, one even for Negro slaves.

The scope, however, of the Salvador congregation for which Sánchez drew up regulations in 1594 was the more perfect worship and imitation of the Savior. In his aim to foster definite Christian practices among the socially elite he sought members from the often maligned flower of nobility of the old metropolis. Those desirous of joining the confraternity were put on probation and one by one given a book of regulations. Induction came when it was clear that the life of the candidate would be one of good example to the Catholics of the city. All met for common prayer and a sermon on Sunday afternoon, thus foregoing a stroll in one of the many gardens or parks and the amusements of the sunny plazas. After the membership had been brought to two hundred in 1596 the congregation came to a great flowering when the Viceroy, Conde de Monterrey, was admitted by Sánchez. Thereafter viceroys, bishops, prebendaries, members of audiencias, military commanders, nobles, merchants, Spanish and creole *hacendados* gathered to hear the words of the venerable father and to receive on the first Sunday of the month a *cédula* whereon a patron saint's name was written along with a virtue to be especially practiced by the recipient for the month following.[69] The Conde de Monterrey got other gentlemen interested and brought groups to church with him, and naturally people of the city were attracted more and more to the services until throngs filled La Profesa. The membership in the league went up to 800 men. The league Del Salvador by uniting thus the better class was the final step toward bringing the Jesuits into contact with every class in the caste system of New Spain. Religion by means of particular organizations of the sodality type became definitely a democratizing force, and the Casa and church became a rallying center where all men were equal. Since the members were men of means they established a treasury and set aside the dues and contributions for Masses for those who died each year allowing regular appropriations for Mass intentions applied to the souls in purgatory.[70] Thus there were said annual-

[69] Astrain, IV, 419, gets this information from the Cartas Annuas. The practice of distributing *cédulas* or leaflets started in Mexico by Sánchez is very familiar at present. The example given by the Conde de Monterrey occasioned a rapid spread of the devotion.

[70] Ribas, I, 271.

ly between eight and twelve thousand Masses each year. Stipends for these were given to priests of the Viceroyalty, four reales (about thirty cents) being the usual offering. The charity of this purgatorial society extended beyond the members to those of the lower class who died in poverty; members regularly payed for funeral expenses. Moreover, other sums were accumulated for services of musicians, for decorations, altar adornments, and special ceremonies. The most elaborate ceremony on record was that of 1610 when the church was finally consecrated and the beatification of Ignatius celebrated; for a week pageants, music, religious solemnities, and processions kept a great portion of the citizenry occupied in a prayerful way. The congregation of the Savior defrayed the expenses of the magnificent street decorations, floats, flowers, and costumes.

After serving as rector of the Casa Profesa for three years Sánchez asked to be relieved of his superiorship in order better to devote his time to his congregation. Father Báez became rector on November 4, 1595,[71] and Sánchez was made pastor of the church. The construction of the massive edifice had been begun probably a year before. Stone was quarried and transported; gifts toward the foundation multiplied; woodwork and altars were carved by artists and Indians; gold decorations, sacred vessels, vestments, and paintings were contributed. The church was opened with services on February 2, 1596.

How long exactly the pastor of La Profesa remained at his post cannot be stated with certitude. In 1603 when he was seventy-five he was still active at his work with the Congregación del Salvador.[72] The Jesuit Province of New Spain had grown in numbers until at that time it had 345 subjects in residences, missions, and colleges; its activities were extended to the Philippines, which became an independent province in 1604, to Central America and New Granada. Father Sánchez was the patriarch among the professed fathers of these widespread regions, for from 1604 his name heads the lists of those participating at each of the bienniel provincial congregations. His counsel was still of great value. Apparently his sermons and talks had lost none of their vigor. The Viceroy, Marqués de Montesclaros, who had humbly asked Sánchez's permission to belong to Del Salvador, was so taken with the address of the venerable Black Robe that

---

[71] Alegre, I, 298. Ribas, I, 323, gives no date for the appointment as pastor. For descriptions of the church, the dedicatory services are described by Ribas, I, 242-259.

[72] Ribas, I, 270.

he brought him to the palace to repeat his words to the Virreina and the household.

As time went on the beloved Padre took his place as a perennial adjunct to the Casa. His superiors noticed a gradual weakening and considering his advanced age and health determined to appoint another father to relieve him on some days of his preaching duties. But the people refused to hearken to the suggestion; they would not part with their padre. Habitual indispositions of old age finally forced the venerated director to yield the pulpit to others. Yet his service was not finished. He was sent to the Colegio Máximo for the last year or so of his life, there to be the spiritual director of the student Jesuits in the house of his founding.

In the springtime of 1609 pain became a constant companion of Father Sánchez. His case was one of uremia which made rapid inroads on his failing vitality. Regularly he was visited by many of the important citizens who rejoiced in his friendship. Viceroy Velasco, grieving to hear of the feverish condition of the man to whom the capital owed much, kissed the hand of the sufferer, begged his blessing, and turned away very heavy-hearted.

Two days of life remained to Sánchez when he told the rector "I am near the palm." Fortified by the rites of the Church, staunch in his faith, he was liberated from his fever in the evening probably of July 16, and his mortal remains were laid to rest in the afternoon of the following day.[73] Tribute to the memory of the regenerator was immediate and wholehearted. Until the casket was sealed people cut pieces from the familiar cassock. The viceroy, the audiencia, clerics, members of the other religious orders, the lowly and the prominent people of the city, professors of the university, and students spontaneously arrived at the cathedral, whither the body had been removed in procession. A great multitude attended the solemn services for the esteemed and beloved Padre Sánchez. He was 81 years of age, 51 years a priest and Jesuit, and he had given 37 years of sacrificing and constructive labor to New Spain.

---

[73] Ms. Vida, 230-232; Ribas, I, 326-329; Alegre, II, 18. These have accounts of the death and burial. Alegre believes July 15 was the day of his death; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque,* VII, 529, gives July 16; Ribas does not give the date but says that at dawn on the next day throngs came to view the remains, and that July 17 was the burial date.

Jean Garnier, Librarian

PART II

In modern libraries, particularly here in the United States, library functions have been developed in such a bewildering profusion that one may pardonably hesitate before deciding definitely which of the rich variety of services are really fundamental. In a range of library services that run from story-telling hours for pre-school children to microphotographing newspapers, and that include on the way several sorts of reference and bibliographic services, book reviews for women's clubs, parent guidance in educational and domestic problems, technological advice to manufacturers and middlemen, radio broadcasting, and a number of promotional activities, is it still true that the basic business of a library is to gather books and, through classification and cataloguing, to make the books readily available to the readers? Whatever be the current answer to that question, there is no doubt that in Garnier's time, and in fact for all the centuries until this immediate twentieth, the first concern of a librarian was to assemble books and to organize them for use.

Of Garnier's skill in the selection of books for the College library, we know nothing; and what we have to say about his cataloguing will not detain us long. He himself accounts for the cataloguing of the College library in three pages of his book, beginning with the succinct statement:

> There is an individual catalogue for each of the four main divisions of the Library, in which the Authors are entered in a twofold arrangement, first technical, then alphabetical. The technical arrangement means an order for which logical rules can be set up, beyond the mere arbitrary succession of Authors' names alphabetically.[1]

His catalogue evidently is what we should nowadays call a shelf list, in which the entries are governed by the position of the books on the shelves. His cataloguing rules are, therefore, the rules for shelving the books within each of the four great divisions, and as such are the basis for his organization of the sequences within the large outlines of his classification.

The notation used in the catalogue was apparently a "mixed" notation, with letters for the large classes, of which there were fifty, and numbers under each letter for the subdivisions, which

[1] *Systema,* 11.

amounted to 493. This total takes account of the books and manuscripts, and excludes nineteen classes of coins and medals, and five groups of museum curios, with which Garnier's *Systema* was also concerned.

There is no indication of any author symbols, corresponding to our familiar "Cutter numbers," or of "work" symbols. For the authors, the alphabetical order seemed sufficient, in view of the relatively small number of books under each subdivision. The four catalogues were, we may be sure, ledger catalogues, with all the difficulties about expansion that the ledger type of catalogue implies. It should be mentioned in passing that Garnier thinks in terms of authors, not subjects, perhaps thus anticipating our author "main entry"; and hence his headings are "Philosophers . . . Mathematicians," where we should put philosophy or mathematics.

But it is important to remember that in the library of the College of Clermont (it is true also for many libraries even today) the catalogue was of more value to the librarian than to the readers, because the readers had direct access to the shelves, and depended for their knowledge of the books much less upon any catalogue than upon the classified arrangement of the books on the shelves, with promient labels over the bookcases to indicate their contents. It is in a library with "closed shelves" that a catalogue of the books becomes an absolute need.

Hence Garnier was not tempted to think of book classification only as a foundation for a catalogue. He recognized it for what it was, the essential ordering of the books, indispensable as a means of facilitating their use. And now, at last, we turn to Garnier's work as a classifier. We shall consider it first in his theory of classification, then in his practice.

1. Garnier's Theory of Classification

In chapters III and IV of the first part of his book,[2] Garnier writes a brief essay on his theory of classification. He makes clear the important distinction between a philosophical and a utilitarian approach to the problem of classifying books in a library. A philosophically coherent scheme of classification would constrain the order of books to follow some theoretical order of knowledge. A utilitarian scheme consults only the convenience with which books may be made available to the reader. For the dignity of man's rational nature, Garnier refuses to abandon en-

[2] *Systema,* 10-14.

tirely the philosophical ordering of books. The noble concept of the relationship between books as representative of man's relations with God, with the world of creatures, and with his fellowmen, past and present, determines his four main divisions: Theology, Philosophy, History, and Law.[3] In so far, his scheme of classification is philosophical. But beyond the limit of such a basic grouping of books according to a hierarchy of knowledge, common sense advises that a conventional, arbitrary, purely expedient classification, with mnemonic recurrences of sequences, with the natural guidance of geographical and chronological order, and the convenient sub-grouping of authors alphabetically, is the most practical and useful way of classifying a library. Garnier showed that he had plenty of common-sense; he accepted the utilitarian basis of book classification.

He puts down four tests of a good scheme of classification:

1. that it should not do violence to relationships in nature;
2. that every book should find its place in the scheme;
3. that those who used the scheme should get a larger view of bibliography from it;
4. that it should make the books easy to find.[4]

That is setting a high standard, even for the number and range of books existing in the seventeenth century, when many of the modern sciences and quasi-sciences were still undeveloped, and when book-production amounted to only a small fraction of the enormous output of today.

The first theoretical conclusion he draws from considering these four tests of a good classification is that no absolutely uniform system of classification will work. In other words, he accepts the principle of flexibility in classification, at least in a

---

[3] Here is a sample of his reasoning in setting up the four main divisions of his scheme of classification:

"The knowledge which is contained in books perfects man according to all the powers of his mind which are capable of dealing with knowledge; and these are four: his higher reason, his lower reason, his memory, and his capacity for social relations with other men, which last is a sort of blending of the first three. For, as the ancients put it, man is an animal at once akin to God, endowed with reason, and functioning in society. But it is the knowledge of divine things that perfects man's higher reason, the knowledge of human things that perfects his lower reason, the knowledge of the past that perfects his memory, and the knowledge of Law that perfects his social relations. That knowledge is called divine which derives from the Word of God; that knowledge we call human whose source is man's own reason; knowledge of history is that which brings to life the deeds of former times; knowledge of Law embraces the rules, that is the bonds, by which human societies are linked together" (*Systema,* 10-11).

[4] *Systema,* 12.

limited way. But he still pleads for an element of rational rule in that general practice of expediency. Certain principles of order established by "the Great Tradition," by the accumulated learning and wisdom of men, should make a rigid core for the arbitrary flexibility of classification. The chief principles of order he enumerates as six: the order of nature, the hierarchy of knowledge, the order of languages, the chronological order, the order of human rank, the order of social groups.

He illustrates these. For instance, in the order of nature, genera should come before species, species before individuals, substances before accidents, the whole before the parts, and so on; in the hierarchy of knowledge, books of a general character should precede special works; in language, the dead languages should take precedence over the living, cultured languages over barbaric, one's own language over foreign languages; in the chronological order, he wishes to follow the common opinion about dates, not contentious novelties; in human rank, also, he prefers the common usage, as for example, in the ecclesiastical and civil distinctions of dignitaries; in the social order, he wishes to group books representative of schools of thought, of religious organizations, and the like.

Besides this general introductory essay on his theory of classification, Garnier wrote, as a preface to the outline of each of the classes under his four main divisions, other little essays, still in the order of theory, whose purpose was to explain the grounds of his divisions and sequences. There are sixty-one of these essays, each constituting a chapter of his book. At the close of each essay, he sets down in numerical order the schedules for the subject dealt with. As a specimen, here is a translation of the first chapter in the section headed, "Philosophers":

> Knowledge which is derived solely from human reason the Greeks called Philosophy, and the Latins called Learning (Literae). This Learning is of two sorts, the Exact Sciences, and Literature: the Exact Sciences are again divided into Philosophy in the strict sense of the word, Mathematical and Physical Sciences, and Medicine: Literature is divided into Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetry, and that common adjunct of the three, Criticism.[5]

[5] "Grammatica" in Garnier's day meant the whole science of languages, what we now call philology. Garnier used the term "Philologia" to mean literary criticism; and it has been so translated here. "Mathematici" also has its own, and a very comprehensive, meaning in Garnier; it includes, besides mathematicians, astronomers and astrologers, physicists, architects, engineers, musicians, tacticians, artillerists, etc. Chemistry he includes under medicine.

The reason why Exact Learning should be divided into those three parts is sought in the fact that it is the business of this kind of knowledge to perfect man in his mind and his body: but Philosophy and the Exact Sciences perfect man's mind; Medicine perfects his body.

But in the mind there are four powers, intelligence, will, imagination, and motor energy (vis movendi). Philosophy perfects the first two, the intelligence by contemplation, the will by action. The Exact Sciences perfect the latter two, the imagination by exercising it on the interrelations of physical bodies; and motor energy by their concern with the measurements of motion.

The reason why Literature is divided into Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetry, and their common adjunct, Criticism, is this: Literature aims at cultivating man as a social being; but society is founded on the communication of ideas and emotions; but this communication is accomplished by speech and writing; and perfect speech means speech that is correct, eloquent, and pleasing. Now Grammar teaches us to speak correctly, Rhetoric to speak eloquently, and Poetry to speak delightfully. Criticism teaches us how we may read literary works more carefully, more intelligently, and with greater profit.[6]

In this sort of theorizing, Garnier obviously enters a field of controversy: a controversy affecting not merely the practical usefulness of any such fixed orders in classifying books, but also the validity of the distinctions implied in establishing these orders. Even his assumptions, which we may be sure he thought beyond question, are almost furiously rejected today by many librarians. As Rabbi ben Ezra says:

> Ten men love what I hate,
> Shun what I follow, slight what I receive . . .

But in seventeenth-century France, the field of controversy in such matters, although ample enough, was immeasurably narrower than, say, in twentieth-century America, the home of all the isms, theological, dialectical, scientific, economic, literary, and political. The "faculty psychology" evident in Garnier's reasoning was then the accepted view of most men; the teleological estimate of all human activity was unquestioned. Other classifiers differed from Garnier in their coordination and subordination of the elements of his scheme; but they agreed with him that those were the elements to be taken into account.

Garnier, however, as a practical classifier, doing a definite job in a definite library, made no delay over the controversial aspects of his theory. He pushed on to recount very briefly some

[6] *Systema,* 31-32.

of his main heads of practice in following out his theory in the scheme he had actually set up. Here are some of them:

> The works of an individual author, when they have any kinship amongst themselves, even the slightest, are not separated: when they have nothing in common, they are put each in its own subject class. (Yet it is to be desired, if there be space for it, to set up a distinct class of Polygraphy, that is, for those authors who have edited disparate works.)
>
> When diverse works of an author are kept together, then his chief work, whether by reason of its extent, or its nobility of theme, or its fame, draws the rest of his works into its class.
>
> To save space, no duplicates are kept, unless they are successive editions, larger or better than the first, or more enriched with variant readings and notes, or particularly handsome and the product of famous Presses.
>
> First editions are sought as having almost the value of manuscript codices.
>
> Of translations of great authors, the original edition has been sought so diligently that the Library has practically all of them. Other editions of translations are kept in the order of the languages of the translations if they are in several languages, in the chronological order if they are in only one language.
>
> Epitomes, supplements, concordances, criticisms, are kept with the work upon which they are based.
>
> Partial editions of an author's works are shelved in the order in which they appear in his collected works. . . .
>
> Both in the alphabetical catalogue, and on the shelves, separate works of an author follow each other in the chronological order of their composition, if that be known, or at least in the order of their dates of publication.[7]

A modern classifier, with the benefit of nearly three centuries of librarians' experience since the time of Garnier, has much more detailed rules for his guidance. If he compares Garnier's rules with Merrill's *Code for Classifiers,* it is rather like comparing Nicolas Jenson's printing press with a multiple-cylinder rotary press of today. Yet to be quite fair, the comparison ought to be made between a book produced by Jensen and a modern book. Perhaps also the comparison should be between what Garnier achieved in his library with his simpler scheme, and what we achieve nowadays with our elaborate scheme. Garnier had to deal with a smaller range and a smaller number of books than the modern classifier faces; he needed a smaller apparatus.

[7] *Systema,* 13-14. Then follow his two rules regulating the loan service of the library, already noticed in this paper.

The rather astonishing fact is that he devised an approach to the problems of classifying books which is in so many ways like our own, and that the three centuries of experience intervening should have improved upon his approach only in the way of expansion and complexity of the working rules. We must look to his actual practice for the first test of his theory, to ask whether he could make it work in his library at least as well as our more elaborate theories work in our libraries.

2. Garnier's Practice of Classification

No scheme of classification is seen properly only upon paper, in the form of outlines and schedules. Until it has been observed as actually functioning in a library, or better still, tested out by working with it in a library, a scheme of classification remains an academic affair, subject to endless theoretical speculations. But since Garnier's library has long since been destroyed, diagrams and outlines are all that can be offered here.[8]

The most practical way of presenting the outlines of Garnier's scheme of classification seems to be to assemble together the piecemeal schedules he puts at the close of each small chapter of the four main sections of his book, and combine these with the notations he has indicated separately in the first introductory section of the book.[9] The fifth section of his scheme, dealing with works of heterodoxy, and the sixth section, which he heads "Cimelium" (Treasury), and which is concerned with the manuscript and coin collections of the library are little more than appendices. The materials classified in these two sections, it will be remembered, were those kept in the small closets, or "museums"; and for these he indicated no notation.

Here, then, is a fairly close translation of Garnier's schedules, in which the chief liberty taken has been to put the headings in the form of subjects, Theology, Philosophy, instead of Garnier's form, Theologians, Philosophers, etc.

---

[8] W. C. Berwick Sayers, *A Manual of Classification for Librarians and Bibliographers,* London, 1926, presents, in Table II, facing page 119, a diagrammatic outline which he calls, "System of Garnier, as modified." It is not taken from Garnier's *Systema,* which one suspects Sayers had never seen, but from a botched reprint in the German periodical, *Serapeum,* published in Leipzig. It contains seven main divisions, making Medicine (III) and Literature (IV) separate divisions, whereas Garnier, as may be seen from the present translation, included both Medicine and Literature as classes under his main division of Philosophy.

[9] The four main catalogues take up pages 15-104; the outline of the classes, with the notation indicated for each, is on pages 7-9.

I THEOLOGY

A BIBLES
1. Polyglot Bibles
2. Hebrew Bibles
3. Syriac and other Oriental languages
4. Greek Bibles
5. Latin Bibles before the correction (Clementine, 1598)
6. Latin Bibles after the correction
7. All French versions
8. Versions in Italian, Spanish, German, English, Flemish, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Slavic, etc.

B BIBLE GLOSSES, CRITICISM, COMMENTARIES, CATENAE
1. Glosses, Scholiast Comments, Paraphrases
2. Criticism
3. Hermeneutics
4. Catenae

C 5. Interpreters of Both Testaments[10]

D 6. Interpreters of Old Testament alone

C 7. Jewish History

D 8. Interpreters of New Testament alone

E PATRISTIC COLLECTIONS
1. Collections published in Paris, Supplements, Variant Readings, Anthologies, etc.
2. General Patristic Collections, in chronological order
3. Controversial or Apologetic Collections
4. Collections as Sources for Preaching
5. National Collections (Gentium singularium)
6. Collections by Religious Orders
7. Collections by Secular Organizations

F GREEK FATHERS
1. Fathers of first, second, and third centuries
2. Fathers of fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries
3. Fathers of seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, up to Photius
4. Fathers from Photius to the present, both Catholic and Schismatic

G LATIN FATHERS
By centuries, as for Greek Fathers, but ending at the close of the twelfth century, with Peter Lombard, the father of the Schools.

---

[10] Although these are listed by the numbers, 5, 6, 7, 8, in chapter III, p. 19, Garnier assigned them letters in the broad outline given earlier, on p. 7.

H SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGIANS
1. The four Leaders, Augustine, John Damascene, Robert Pullen, Peter Lombard
2. Franciscans
3. Dominicans
4. Jesuits
5. Hieronymites, Augustinians, both Canons Regular and Monks
6. Carthusians, Cistercians, Carmelites
7. Minims, Mercedarians, and other recent Orders
8. Secular Theologians, by the Academies in which they flourished; French first (and Parisians first of these), then Italians, Spaniards, Germans, etc.

I CONTROVERSY[11]
1. Against Infidels
   (Eight subdivisions: writers against Atheism, Secularism, Paganism, Magic, Libertinism and Praedamitism, Mahometanism, Judaism)[12]
2. Against Heresies
   (Three subdivisions by subjects: Method of controversy, Materials of controversy, Specimens of controversy)
3. Against Older Heresies
   (Three subdivisions: against the Greek Heresies, the Sacramentarians, the Hussites)
4. Against Zwinglians
5. Against Lutherans
6. Against Calvinists
7. Against Socinians
8. Against the Most Recent
   (Four subdivisions by subject: Heresies about Grace, Penance, the Teaching Church, Augustine and the Fathers)

K MORAL THEOLOGY
1. Franciscan Moralists
2. Dominican Moralists
3. Jesuit Moralists
4. Clerks Regular, who number many writers on Moral Theology
5. Moralists of other Religious Orders, chronologically
6. Bishops
7. Secular Doctors, by Academies
   (In each class, keep authors in chronological order, earlier preceding later.)

---

[11] The eight classes outlined here differ slightly from the eight classes which make up the outline for Part V, Heterodoxy, as shown in the first broad outline on p. 10; and both are considerably expanded in detail in the outlines later given for the chapters of Part V, pp. 105-110.

[12] Throughout the schedules, no notation is indicated for these minor subdivisions.

L MYSTICAL AND ASCETICAL THEOLOGY

1. On the Spiritual Life in general
2. On the Religious Life and the Evangelical Vows
3. On Prayer
4. On Practice of Virtues in general
5. On Virtues of childhood, youth, maturity, old age, and preparation for death
6. On the Perfection of Bishops, pastors, clerics, the married, virgins, widows
7. On the Rules of Perfection for princes, courtiers, judges, soldiers, merchants, craftsmen, farmers, masters and servants, the rich, the poor
8. On Worship of, and as it is called Devotion to, the Divine Persons of the Trinity, Christ Our Lord, and what is hallowed by Him, as His Cross, etc.
9. On Reverence for the Virgin Mother of God, and such matters as her Rosary, Sodalities, etc.
10. On Devotion to the Angels
11. On Devotion to the Saints, and their Relics, etc.

(In each class, subdivide by languages, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., and then by chronological order.)

M PREACHING

1. On the Art of Preaching
2. Material for Sermons, whether from Scripture, the Fathers, History, or personal experience
3. Collections of Sermons for the entire year
4. Sermons for Lent, either the whole or a part, such as the Passion of Christ
5. Sermons for Advent
6. Sermons for the Octave of Corpus Christi
7. Sermons for the Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin
8. Sermons on what are called the Mysteries
9. Sermons on the Saints
10. Occasional Sermons
11. Catechetical Sermons

II PHILOSOPHY

N PHILOSOPHY

1. Ancient Philosophers, with later commentaries
2. Plato, all editions

(Subdivisions: Commentaries, in Greek, Latin, and Vernacular: then Dissertations, in the same order, Greek, Latin, Vernacular.)

3. Aristotle, all editions
   (Same Subdivisions.)
4. Averroes, texts, and Dissertations about him
5. Universal Scholastics, that is, those who have covered the whole field of Scholastic Philosophy, and organized courses in it
   (Subdivided by "Schools", and chronologically under each "School".)
6. Particular Scholastics, that is, those who deal with one subject, and have written Treatises on Logic, Ethics, Physics, Metaphysics, and what is called Natural Theology
7. Spagyrists (Alchemists), and those who reconcile them with the Peripatetic School
8. Descartes, with his followers and opponents
9. Eclectics, who follow no School, but make up their own systems

O MATHEMATICS

1. General Treatises, covering the whole, or the greater part, of mathematics
2. Arithmetic, both theoretical and practical
3. Algebra
4. Speculative Geometry, plane and spherical
5. Practical Geometry
6. Astronomy, Cosmological and Planetary
7. Comets
8. Trigonometry
9. Ephemerides
10. Sun-Dials
11. Astronomical Instruments, Armillary Sphere, Astrolabe, etc.
12. Astrology
13. Other Arts of Divination, as Chiromancy, Geomancy, etc.
14. Music
15. Musical Instruments
16. Theory of Optics, including Dioptrics and Catoptrics
17. Perspective and Optical Magic
18. Painting
19. Sculpture and Plastic Arts
20. Weights of Solid and Fluid Bodies—Statics
21. Mechanics
22. Civil Architecture
23. Nautical Architecture and Navigation
24. Fortification
25. Crafts, wood-work, iron-work, etc., subsidiary to Architecture
26. Strategy
27. Tactics
28. Ordnance

29. Equitation
30. Ballistics, Pyrotechnics, Sapping

P MEDICINE

1. Hippocrates, all editions, with Commentaries and Dissertations
2. Galen, all editions, with Commentaries and Dissertations
3. Other Ancient Greeks, with Commentaries and Dissertations
4. Arabian Physicians, with Commentaries and Dissertations
5. Ancient Latin Physicians
6. General courses in Medicine
7. General Pathology
8. Diseases of Men, and Diseases of Women
9. Diseases of Childhood, Youth, Old Age, etc.
10. Diseases special to various Races
11. Special Pathology, of mind and body, of heart, head, lungs, stomach, joints, skin, etc.
12. Surgery
    (Subdivisions: General Treatises, and Specific Operations.)
13. Pharmacy
    (Subdivisions: General, and Special: such as Perfumery, Dyeing, Paint-making, Toxicology.)
14. Medical Chemistry
15. New Theories, Circulation of the Blood, etc.

Q PHILOLOGY

1. General Treatises on Languages and Linguistics
2. Hebrew Grammars, Dictionaries, Treatises
3. Other Oriental Languages, useful in biblical studies, with their Dictionaries, etc.
4. Greek Grammars, Dictionaries, Treatises
5. Latin " " "
6. French " " "
7. Italian " " "
8. Spanish " " "
9. German " " "
10. English " " "
11. Slavic " " "
12. Polish " " "
13. Turkish, Armenian, Coptic, etc.
14. Other Foreign Languages, especially those of the New World
    (Dictionaries and Dissertations with Grammars of each Language.)

R RHETORIC

1. The great Masters, Greek, Latin, Vernacular, with their Commentaries, Dissertations, and Translations

2. Ancient Greek Orators, in all notable editions, with their Commentaries, Dissertations, and Translations
3. Ancient Latin Orators, ditto
4. Recent Forensic Orators, with whom, because that kind of oratory is in part reprimanding, are joined writers of invectives, reproofs, famous lampoons, etc.
5. Recent Deliberative Orators, with whom are joined honorary and didactic writers
6. Recent Panegyrists
7. Orators who praise virtues
8. Orators who praise accomplishments
9. Letter-writers

S POETRY

1. Theory of Poetry
2. Greek Poets, collected and individual, all notable editions, with Commentaries in Greek, Latin, or Vernaculars, and Dissertations and Translations
3. Ancient Latin Poets, ditto
4. Medieval Poets
5. Recent Latin Poets
6. French Poets

   (Subdivision: Ancient, up to Ronsard; Recent, after Ronsard.)
7. Italian Poets
8. Spanish Poets
9. Poets of other languages

T LITERARY CRITICISM

1. Polygraphy, Polymathy, works on the rank of the liberal Arts, or on subjects variously concerned with the liberal Arts
2. Literary Criticism, illustrations, attacks, emenadations, variant readings, of diverse Authors

III HISTORY

Aa GEOGRAPHY

1. Ancient universal geographies, as they have been corrected or illustrated by various editors, keeping the chronological order amongst the Geographers and their commentators
2. Recent universal geographies, in chronological order
3. Ecclesiatical Geography, of the Holy Land, Dioceses of the Church, and the like, in the order of local dignity
4. Particular Civil Geographies, of kingdoms, provinces, etc., keeping the order of geographical divisions and of dignity within each division
5. Geography of Atlantis, as it is called, and such like
6. Travels, ancient, then modern

7. Hydrography and maritime Maps
8. Collections of Maps

Bb CHRONOLOGY

1. Theory of Chronology, ancient, modern, in order of time
2. Biblical Chronology, of Old and New Testament
3. Chronology of Old Testament only
4. Chronology of New Testament only

Cc UNIVERSAL HISTORY

1. General Works, including Sacred and Profane History
2. General History of Europe, Sacred and Profane
3. General History of Asia, Sacred and Profane

(Africa and the Americas are dealt with under Ss, Foreign History, Sacred and Profane.)

Dd GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

1. General History of Old Testament, ancient writers, then modern
2. Ancient General Histories of New Testament
3. Annals of Baronius, all editions, with Continuators, Abbreviators, Critics, hostile and friendly
4. Histories of New Testament, in whole or in part
5. History of Popes, first General Histories, then individual, in order of time
6. History of Cardinals, same order
7. History of Councils, same order
8. History of Idolatry
9. History of Heresies, same order
10. History of Schisms, same order
11. Controverted Points of Church History

Ee CHURCH HISTORY BY NATIONS

1. Church History of Italy and the Islands, Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearics
2. Church History of France
3. " " " Spain
4. " " " Germany, including Belgium: don't mind those who prefer to consider it with France
5. " " " England, with which Scotland and Ireland
6. " " " Northern Europe, Denmark, Sweden, Muscovy
7. " " " Eastern Europe, Poland, Hungary
8. " " " India, China, Japan
9. " " " South America, as Peru; then North America, as Mexico, the West Indies, Canada

Ff HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

1. General works on all Orders
2. History of Ancient Fathers
3. Order of St. Basil
4. Order of Hieronymites
5. Orders founded by St. Augustine, first Canons Regular, then Monks
6. Benedictines
7. Cistercians
8. Carthusians
9. Williamites
10. Premonstratensians
11. Order of Fontevrault
12. Carmelites
13. Trinitarians and Mercedarians
14. Franciscans, Minorites, Recollects, Capuchins, Penitents, etc.
15. Dominicans
16. Servites
17. Jesuates
18. Celestines
19. Minims
20. Jesuits
21. Clerks Regular, Theatines, Barnabites, etc.
22. Congregations, such as the Oratory, etc.
23. Military Orders, Teutonic Knights, Templars, Hospitallers, St. James of Compostela, Calatrava, Alcantara, etc.
24. Modern Nuns, of St. Sepulcher, Immaculate Conception, Visitation, St. Ursula, Blessed Sacrament, etc.

Gg HISTORY OF SAINTS

1. General Martyrology, with Commentaries and Dissertations
2. Special Martyrologies, National, Provincial, Municipal, Religious Orders, with Commentaries and Dissertations
3. Collected Lives of Saints, Legends and Flores, as they are called, and the Acta Sanctorum of the whole Church, in the chronological order of publication
4. Acts of the Saints of individual Churches, nations, etc.
5. Individual Lives of Saints, in the order kept by the Church, Apostles first, then Martyrs, etc.

Hh GREEK HISTORY

1. Ancient Greek History, in chronological order of writers
2. Byzantine History, following the order of Father Labbé's scheme
3. Turkish History, by chronological order and languages of writers
4. Saracen History

Ii ROMAN HISTORY
1. History of the Republic
2. History of the Empire
3. History of the Western Empire

Kk ITALIAN HISTORY
1. General History of Italy, in this order: topography, events, leaders
2. History of Papal States, in the order of dignity of Provinces, with cities under each Province
3. History of Kingdom of Naples, in the same order
4. History of Grand Duchy of Etruria, in the same order, and therefore, including the History of Sienna
5. History of Parma and Placentia
6. History of Mantua and Montferrat
7. History of Milan
8. History of Mutina
9. History of Piedmont and Savoy
10. History of Venice
11. History of Genoa
12. History of Lucca
13. History of Ragusa
14. History of Sicily
15. History of Sardinia
16. History of Corsica
17. History of Malta
18. History of the Balearic and other small islands

Ll FRENCH HISTORY
1. General History, ancient
2. General History, modern
3. Treatises on the Royal rights, privileges, and dignity
4. History of individual Kings of the third dynasty, in chronological order
5. History of foreign and civil wars
6. History of Embassies and Treaties of Peace
7. Chronicles of each Reign
8. History of Paris
9. History of Burgundy
10. History of Normandy
11. History of Aquitaine and Bordeaux
12. History of Languedoc
13. History of Navarre and Bearn
14. History of Brittany
15. History of Champagne
16. History of Picardy
17. History of Dauphiné

18. History of Provence
19. History of Lyons
20. History of Orleans, Angers, and Tours
21. History of the Departments of the Army, Court, State, Justice, Treasury, and Commerce
22. History of Leaders of Army and Court
23. Miscellany, chiefly of collected and indexed pamphlets

Mm SPANISH HISTORY

1. Ancient History, or collections of older Writers
2. General modern History
3. Royal rights and privileges
4. Individual Kings of Castile, etc.
5. Chronicles and Ambassadors' Letters
6. History of civil strifes and foreign Wars
7. History of individual Kingdoms feudal to the Kings of Castile
8. Illustrious men of those Kingdoms
9. General History of Portugal
10. History of each King of Portugal
11. History of wars and expeditions
12. Chronicles and Ambassadors' Letters
13. History of the Provinces and Cities of Portugal
14. History of the Illustrious Men of Portugal

Nn GERMAN HISTORY

1. Ancient Germany, in Latin, German, French, then in other languages
2. Foundation of German Empire and rights of Emperor and Electors
3. Individual Emperors, chronologically
4. General History of the Electorates and Diets
5. History of each of the nine Electorates, keeping the order of Diets
6. Bohemia
7. Switzerland, keeping the order of what are called cantons
8. Illustrious men of Germany

Oo BELGIAN HISTORY

1. General History
2. History of strifes and wars, resulting in the split of the United Provinces
3. History of Brabant
4. " " Limburg
5. " " Luxemburg
6. " " Gelderland
7. " " Flanders
8. " " Artois
9. " " Hainaut

10. " " Holland
11. " " Zeeland
12. " " Namur
13. " " Zutphen
14. " " Antwerp
15. " " Eastern Frisia
16. " " Mechlin
17. " " Utrecht
18. " " Overijssel
19. " " Groningen

Pp HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

1. English History, ancient
2. " " modern
3. Scottish History, ancient
4. " " modern
5. Irish History, ancient
6. " " modern

Qq NORTHERN HISTORY

1. General History of Denmark, Norway, Iceland
2. History of each
3. General History of Sweden, Gothland, Prussia
4. History of each

Rr HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE

1. History of Muscovy general and particular
2. " " Poland " " "
3. " " Lithuania
4. " " Hungary general and particular
5. " " Pannonia
6. " " Dacia or Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, general and particular

Ss FOREIGN HISTORY

1. General History of the New World
2. History of Syria and Cyprus
3. " " Modern Persia
4. " " India
5. " " Mogul Empire
6. " " China and adjacent kingdoms, Tongking, Cochin, etc.
7. " " Japan
8. " " Tartary
9. " " Egypt and Ethiopia
10. " " Barbary
11. " " Farther Africa and the Islands
12. " " South America, Brasil, Peru, etc.
13. " " North America, Mexico, Canada, etc.

14. " " Islands adjoining America
15. Collected Travels
16. Travels by Land
17. Voyages

Tt GENEALOGY

1. Royal Genealogies in general
2. Ancient Roman Genealogies
3. French Genealogies, in order of dignity, Royal Family first
4. Italian Genealogies, in the usual order, Papal States, Kingdom of Naples, Principalities, Duchies, Republics, Islands
5. Spanish Genealogies, keeping the order of Kingdoms
6. German and Belgian Genealogies, in the order of Electorates & Provinces
7. English Genealogies
8. Danish, Swedish, etc. Genealogies
9. The Science of Heraldry
10. Heraldic History

Vu LITERARY HISTORY

1. General Bibliographies
2. Special Bibliographies
   (Six subdivisions: by Subjects, Nations, Religious Orders, Academies, Libraries, and Booksellers, such as the Frankfort Fair and famous Publishing Houses.)
3. Literary and Artistic Biographies
4. History of Learned Academies
5. History of Printing

Xx ICONOLOGY

1. Pictures and statues of false Gods, holy persons, and illustrious Men
2. Symbols, Hieroglyphs, Devices, Emblems, in the order named
3. Medals, ancient and modern, and Coins: also weights and measures, because used in commerce
4. Epigraphy, which includes every sort of inscriptions, on Marbles and Gems, Vases and Urns, Obelisks and Triumphal Arches, Tombs and other monuments
5. History of Pomps and Ceremonies, triumphal, funereal, games: amongst Triumphal are the Receptions of Princes and Nobles

Yy NATURAL HISTORY

1. General Works, as Pliny, all of whose editions have been gathered, with commentaries and dissertations
2. Of the Elements, and Elementary Compounds, Earth, Water, Air, Fire, the books keeping to the order in which these topics are named, which is also to be done in the following classes
3. Of Fossils, that is, Metals, Gems, Stones, Amber

4. Of Plants, both the common plants, and those special to certain regions: also books on Agriculture and Horticulture
5. Of Animals, first general treatises, then of Quadrupeds, Fishes, Birds, Reptiles, and Insects
6. Of the human body, first general works, then of each part, in the order usually followed by Anatomists
7. Of Spirits, especially evil spirits; for the angels, see Theology. Here also belong books on Energumens and Spectres
8. Of Monsters
9. Of Prodigies and Portents seen in the Elements, especially in the Air, in Fossils, Plants, Animals, Men

Zz SOCIOLOGY

1. Of natal days, life periods, food, clothing, housing, death, and burial
2. Of family life, marriage, husbands, wives, children, servants
3. Of minor social groups, neighborhoods, friendships, commercial relations, etc.
4. Of larger social groups, cities, kingdoms, religious rites, courts
   (Here also belong books about rewards and punishments, military service, merchandizing, crafts, farming, taxes, finance, games, celebrations, etc.)

& FICTION

1. Treatises illustrating, attacking, defending works of Fiction
2. Greek Fiction, prose first, then verse, both chronologically
3. Latin Fiction, prose and verse
4. Arabian Fiction
5. French, prose and verse
6. Italian, prose and verse
7. Spanish, prose and verse
8. Other Languages

IV JURISPRUDENCE

α SOURCES OF CHURCH LAW

1. On the authority, assembly, and form of Councils
2. Older Collections of Councils and Papal Letters, from Isidore Mercator to Crabbe
3. Recent Collections of Councils and Papal Letters, from Crabbe to Labbé and Cossart.[13]
4. Individual General Councils, in chronological order
5. Dissertations on Councils, Historical, Didactic, or even Scholastic

---

[13] Pierre Crabbe (1470-1553), a Belgian Franciscan, published his *Concilia Omnia,* not a very satisfactory work, 2 vols. folio, Cologne, 1538. The much complete *Sacrosancta Concilia,* by the Jesuits, Philip Labbé (1623-1667) and Gabriel Cossart (1615-1674), in 17 volumes folio, was published at Paris, 1667-1671.

6. Digests or summaries of General Councils
7. Collections or interpretations of the General Canons, in Greek or Latin
8. Collections of National Councils, of Italy, France, etc., by nations
9. Letters and Bulls of Popes, in chronological order

β CANON LAW

1. Corpus of Canon Law, all editions of any probability, either complete or partial. In these are included the Decreta of Ivo, Burchard, etc.
2. General Commentaries
3. Commentaries on parts of the Corpus, keeping the order of the parts in the complete Corpus, and then chronologically by authors
4. Treatises on Canon Law itself, Lawyers, Procedure, and special problems raised by certain Canons
5. Treatises on the Church, Popes, Cardinals, Legates, and the Roman Curia
6. " " Bishops, Parish Priests, Canons, and other Clerics and holders of Benefices
7. " " Abbots and Religious in general
8. " " Mendicant Orders, and those having their privileges
9. " " Monks and Nuns
10. " " Military Orders
11. " " Confraternities and Sodalities
12. " " Hospitals and almshouses

(At this point Garnier inserts eleven classes dealing with the Divine Office, for which no notation is offered. They begin with General Works, then follow the order of Churches, Greek, Roman, Italian, etc., in the usual geographical order. The eleventh class is Chant Books, with or without musical notes.)

γ ANCIENT AND ROMAN CIVIL LAW

1. Greek Laws, with commentaries and dissertations
2. Treatises on the City of Rome, the Republic, Magistrates, Empire, Roman Law itself
3. Old Roman Law, with commentaries and dissertations
4. Theodosian Code, with commentaries and dissertations
5. Justinian Code, with commentaries and dissertations
6. Basilica Code, with dissertations[14]
7. Ancient Jurists, before sixteenth century
8. Modern Jurists, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

[14] The Basilica Code, in sixty books, was compiled under Basil I, 867-886.

δ FRENCH LAW

1. Works of famous French Jurists
2. Royal Laws, ancient such as Salic Law and Capitularies, modern such as Edicts, Ordinances, and Declarations of Kings, with commentaries
3. Provincial Laws, which are contained in the *Coustumes,* with commentaries
4. Statutes of the *Parlements,* with their commentaries and dissertations
5. Senatorial Decrees, collected or individual, with commentaries
6. Legal Procedures
7. Legal Cases, Magistrates rulings, or Advocates' Pleas
8. Famous Pleadings
9. Canon Law under Gallican interpretation

ε FOREIGN LAW

1. Current Roman Law
2. Italian Law, by regions as in History of Italy
3. German Law, ancient and modern
4. Spanish Law, ancient and modern
5. English Law, the ancient, akin to Norman French, and the modern
6. Belgian Law, akin to the German
7. Dutch Law, ancient and modern
8. Danish and Norwegian Law
9. Swedish Law
10. Polish Law
11. Hungarian Law

ζ LAW OF NATIONS

1. General and special Treatises on the Law of Nations
2. Leagues and Treaties of Popes with other Powers
3. " " " " the Empire with other Powers
4. " " " " the King of France with other Powers
5. " " " " the King of Spain " " "
6. " " " " the King of Great Britain etc.
7. " " " " the King of Denmark etc.
8. " " " " the King of Sweden etc.
9. " " " " the King of Poland etc.
10. " " " " the United Provinces etc.
11. " " " " Republics, Swiss, etc.
12. Treaties of Christian Princes with the Turks and other Mahometans

Garnier's "catalogues" V and VI are very minor parts of his scheme of classification, and have already been sufficiently indicated as containing the schedules for his separate collection of

heretical works, and for the collection of manuscripts. It remains now to say something about the value of his scheme of classification and its influence upon other classifiers.

3. Critical Estimate of Garnier's Classification

In discussing the value of Garnier's *Systema,* we can save a great deal of time and energy by reminding ourselves at the start that it pretends to be no more than a record of what one librarian did in one library. It is not offered as a system of classification for universal adoption after the fashion, say, of the Decimal Classification, or the Expansive Classification, or the Subject Classification. In that case, one may ask, why publish the scheme? In his "Praefatio ad Lectorem," Garnier answers that question.

He published the *Systema,* because his friends had been asking him to publish the entire catalogue of the library. They asked him, because they thought the catalogue might be useful to others as a work of bibliography. But Garnier had two objections to make: to publish the whole catalogue would cost too much; and it would be cheeky to present himself as the first librarian to publish a catalogue in all Paris, where libraries abounded and where even the librarians of the Royal Library had not displayed their wares in public.[15] Hence he thought to keep a middle course, and to satisfy the requests of his friends by publishing, not his catalogue, but an outline of how he went about classifying the library.

In doing even that, he expressed a twofold hope: that his readers might find in his scheme some useful suggestions; and that they might help him to correct its defects. It is a very modest challenge, tentative, even a little diffident, not an assured structure of classification boldly proposed for acceptance by other librarians. Garnier, we may assume, beileved that he had done a good piece of work in classifying the College library; he

---

[15] The first catalogue published in Paris seems to have been printed a year after Garnier published his *Systema.* It was a catalogue of the famous library that had once belonged to President de Thou; his heirs sold it in 1680 to Cardinal de Rohan. After the Royal Library, established at Fontainebleau by Francis I, had been brought to Paris in 1570, it was catalogued by Nicolas Rigault in 1622 (it had then less than 6,000 volumes); it was catalogued again in 1684 by Nicolas Clément (when it had grown to about 35,500 volumes), and again by Clément in 1697. But Clément did not succeed in getting his catalogue printed. In fact, the first serious beginnings of published catalogues came only in 1868, under the librarian Taschereau, when the Royal Library had for seventy-two years been made the Bibliothèque Nationale. (Émile Leroy, *Guide Pratique des Bibliothèques de Paris,* Paris, 1937, 18-20, 25.)

felt no reason to be ashamed of it; but there is not a touch of boasting in his account of the work, or any expectation that he was to revolutionize library classification.

The strength of his scheme of classification, so considered, was that it suited his books. The grounds of his modest hope that the scheme might in some measure be suited to the uses of other librarians were quite simply that other libraries of his time had book collections very similar in their general character to those of the library of the College of Clermont. That was one of the reasons why there was no startling originality in his scheme. He followed the traditional divisions of knowledge, accepted at that time by every librarian. It is not without significance that when, a year later, Joseph Quesnel edited and published the *Bibliotheca Thuana,* which embodied the cataloguing work of the brothers, Pierre and Jacques Du Puy, of Ismael Bouilliaud, and his own, the scheme of classification used was so much like that of Garnier that bibliographers long after disputed as to which of the two, Bouilliaud or Garnier, was the real deviser of the scheme.[16]

Garnier walked a beaten path in his classification; the best that he might have asked to be said of him was that he walked it straight; or, to drop the feeble metaphor, that he used the accepted elements of classification with logical consistency, and with a fair knowledge of the books to be classified. Since we have no first-hand knowledge of the library of the College of Clermont, it is impossible to be very positive in any judgment as to how well his classification stands up under that test.

But it is irrelevant to point out weaknesses in his schedules

---

[16] Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617) was a member of a rich and powerful family of political lawyers, and had been president of the council under Henry IV. Like other members of the family, he was an erudite man. He inherited a fine library, and made it a renowned library. When he was Master of the Royal Library, he made two of his relatives, Pierre Du Puy (1582-1651) and Jacques Du Puy (1586-1656), keepers of the library. (It was they who, in 1620, after his death, edited the fifth part of de Thou's *Historiae Sui Temporis,* a work of the first importance.) At some time around 1650, the brothers Du Puy made a *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae ordine Alphabetico Digestus,* a simple alphabetical list of the books in de Thou's library. After their death, the eminent astronomer, Ismael Bouilliaud (the name is spelled half a dozen ways) devised a classification for the library. Finally, Joseph Quesnel, who had succeeded Bouilliaud in the task, added an index of authors, wrote an explanatory preface, and edited and published the work of his predecessors as the *Bibliotheca Thuana,* in 1679. Bouilliaud (1605-1694), although he became a Catholic late in life, was for most of his life a Huguenot. There is no evidence that he was on friendly terms with Garnier. Quesnel was tinged with Jansenism, and hence was also not likely to have compared work-notes with Garnier. (See Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des Scavans etc.,* II, 260-263; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale,* ss. vv.)

from the point of view of a modern library, or to say that they do not provide for books and subjects that did not exist when Garnier worked and wrote, or to complain, as Sayers does of Brunet's expansion of Garnier's scheme some hundred and thirty years later, that it "is already old-fashioned and is conditioned, as one might expect, by the state of knowledge of its day."[17] Every scheme of classification must lie open to that criticism drawn from the *futuribilia.*

What may more reasonably be pointed out as defects of Garnier's scheme are the occasional fumblings in his details. An instance occurs under the heading "Rhetoric" (R), where he seems at a loss how to provide for Satire, and forces it in with "Recent Forensic Orators" on the trumpery ground that speeches in trial courts are also at times a kind of invective.[18] Another instance can be seen in his curious vagueness under the heading, "Historia Artificialis" (Zz), roughly translated above as "Sociology." He arranged his sequences in the order of the extent of groups mounting up from the family to nations, and suddenly seemed to find himself with a lot of subjects on his hands which did not fit into his scheme. Instead of setting about a proper reorganization of the entire class, he lumped together in a sort of footnote the whole vague bundle of them, merely saying:

> Under this heading belong also books that deal with rewards and punishments, military service, merchandizing, handicrafts, farming, finance, taxes, games, celebrations."[19]

That is manifestly sloppy workmanship, and bad library practice: a Homeric nod, to say the least. Possibly it may be explained as the display of an old scholar's petulant disregard of details in which he was not personally interested.

Yet instances such as these are infrequent; and except for them, his work is tight and neat. He is at times more logical than sensible; but so were Bouilliaud and Nicolas Clément and the Jesuits Claude Clément and Honoré Fabri and the earlier Gabriel Naudé and Antonio Possevino and all the other seventeenth-century classifiers whose work has come down to us.[20] It was an

---

[17] W. C. Berwick Sayers, *Manual of Classification,* London, 1926, 123.

[18] *Systema,* 45.

[19] *Systema,* 89.

[20] Some of these men, who wrote, not for librarians, but for cultured readers in general, or for students, had much to do with establishing the common approach to books. An instance is a book by the Jesuit Honoré Fabri (1607-1688) with an immensely long title beginning, *Euphiander, seu Vir Ingeniosus,* published at Lyon in 1669. The third part, "De Disciplinis" is in effect a kind of classification of knowledge. It had at least nine editions up to 1763. (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque,* III, 515, 22.)

age which would rather have forced reasons than none at all. But if that sort of classification pleased the library patrons of that day, who are we to complain about it? The mark of seventeenth-century France is distinctly upon Garnier's whole scheme, just as certainly as the mark of twentieth-century America is upon the grandiose Library of Congress scheme: quite properly so, since Garnier worked in a seventeenth-century French library.

Abstract criticism of Garnier's classification is a sheer waste of time. There is not a system of classification in existence, even our most comprehensive and elaborate, that can stand undamaged before purely speculative criticism. Every library classification is a compromise, a balancing arrangement between the known past and the unknown future, between the physical rigidity of the existing stock of books and the flexibility of expansion to care for books that may come, even between a philosophy based upon enduring principles and a sheer, expedient eclecticism; and that kind of compromise must, in this imperfect world, forever keep changing, as the stock of books changes, and as the compromisers change their mental attitudes. So Garnier's arrangement may be called narrow, and quaint, and even intolerant, by men whose mental processes would seem to Garnier appalling in their uncertain hold upon principles and their chaotic inclusiveness. The value of his classification can be measured practically in only two ways: in its effectiveness in his own library (of which we can no longer judge); and in its influence upon other classifiers who borrowed from it.

4. Influence of Garnier's Classification

It would be easy to fall into the error of exaggerating Garnier's influence on later French classifiers, forgetting how many others besides him have contributed to the system so widely used throughout France as to be called simply "the French System." Any such exaggeration would be stupid. From the time when the use of printing began to multiply the number of books, librarians and others concerned with the production and distribution of books gave renewed attention to the ancient problem of classification, a problem as old as libraries themselves. Scores of schemes were proposed, ranging from the single sheet of broad headings by Aldus Manutius in 1498 to the elaborate philosophical analysis of subjects in Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis,* incompletely published at Zurich, in 1545 and 1549. But most of these schemes were neglected and forgotten, so far as

library practice was concerned. In point of fact, they were largely theoretical organizations of knowledge rather than practical efforts to classify books. That is notably true of Gesner's classification. Gabriel Naudé alone, of the writers who in the era of printed books antedate Garnier, offered specific suggestions to help a librarian in the actual task of classifying books in a library.[21] And Baillet disposes of Naudé by lumping him in with the other prosy generalizers on classification.[22] Yet all these predecessors of Garnier had a large indirect influence upon library practice, because they gave a more or less fixed form to the commonly accepted divisions of the field of knowledge, and therefore established the definite framework within which Garnier and those who followed him were to work.

Any claims made for Garnier must, therefore, do no more than try to give him his place as one amongst many. But just as stupid as claiming too much for Garnier is the attempt made by some writers to thrust him aside and deny him any influence at all. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that some of the hostility shown toward Garnier by modern writers springs from an unconscious prejudice against him as a Jesuit. Without entering into controversy on that point, which, besides being fruitless, would carry us too far afield, it may be of service here briefly to summarize some of the evidence for Garnier's influence upon later classifiers, and to indicate the direction of his specific contributions to classification.

Garnier's work as a pioneer in library classification had its greatest single effect in offering a foundation for "the French System," which even today is the basic system used in France and in many parts of the Continent. The final deviser of "the French System" was Jacques-Charles Brunet (1780-1867), in the "Table Méthodique" which formed the last volume of his *Manuel du Librarire et de l'Amateur des Livres,* first published in 1810, and successively enlarged to the fifth edition, 6 vols., 1860-1865. The kinship between Brunet's classification and Garnier's can be

[21] Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653), after a few years of experience in the library of de Mesmes, published his *Advis pour Dresser une Bibliothèque,* Paris, 1627. It is a small book, of nine chapters, five of them concerned with the selection and purchase of books for a library. As a matter of perspective, it should be noted that Naudé devotes one chapter, the seventh, to classification, and another chapter, the eighth, to bookbinding. The book is very rare, even in the reprint which Louis Jacob included in his *Traicté des plus Belles Bibliothèques,* Paris, 1644. It was translated into English by John Evelyn, as *Instructions Concerning Erecting a Library,* London, 1661; and a Latin translation was published by J. A. Schmidt in 1703. (Nicéron, *Mémoires,* IX, 37 sqq.)

[22] Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des Sçavans,* II, 264.

studied by comparing the two, or even in a comparison of good outlines of the two schedules.[23] But the limits set for this paper forbid attempting to make the comparison here.

When Brunet published his scheme of classification, the Jesuits had been banished from France for forty-eight years (their exile began eighteen years before Brunet was born), and had been suppressed by the Pope for thirty-seven years. It is possible, but not certain, that Brunet had read Garnier's *Systema.* It is almost certain that he did not borrow directly from Garnier. The connection between the two was remote, the links being a number of booksellers of Paris, erudite men, engaged in practical bibliography.

The first of these seems to have been that queer, but in many ways admirable, fellow, Prosper Marchand (1675-1756), who conducted the book-shop "Phenix" at Paris, in the Rue St. Jacques, from 1698 to 1711. In the latter year he removed to Amsterdam, for the reason that he had rather violently taken up Calvinism, and as a consequence was at outs with his Catholic environment. He wrote a number of books, with more erudition than literary skill, most of them concerned with bibliography and the history of printing, and edited two satirical works against the Jesuits.[24] But before he became a zealous Calvinist, when he was still a neighbor of the old College of Clermont in the Rue St. Jacques, he published, in 1709, his *Epitome Systematis Bibliographici,* as a prefatory essay to his catalogue of the library of Joachim Faultrier. Although he reduced Garnier's four main classes to three, philosophy, theology, and history, his immediate borrowings from Garnier's sequences are evident at sight. But his scheme, for various reasons, made no great impression on the booksellers of Paris.

A more important link was Gabriel Martin (1679-1761), another Parisian bookseller. Between 1705 and his death, Martin

---

[23] Outlines of schemes of classification are not always trustworthy. Writers on the subject seem to borrow outlines from one another with an odd carelessness, and without always consulting the original classification itself. But the outline of Brunet's system in Sayers, *Manual of Classification,* Table III, pp. 120-121, is a good one. It will serve for comparison with the outline of Garnier's scheme given in this article.

[24] He edited *Histoire de l'Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes,* etc. Par le Sieur Hercule Rasiel de Selva (a pseudonym for Pierre Quesnel), 2 vols., La Haye, 1736; and re-edited *Histoire Critique de l'Anti-Cotton,* La Haye, 1738, a work originally written in 1610 by Cesar de Plaix. Both works went through a number of editions.

catalogued 147 private libraries.[25] For his classification he leaned chiefly on Garnier, with some added borrowings from Bouilliaud; but he modified both considerably. For instance, he accepted Bouilliaud's order of the main divisions, putting "Jurisprudence" between "Theology" and "Philosophy"; he made main divisions out of "Sciences and Arts" and "Literature," which Garnier had dealt with as classes under the main division of "Philosophy." His borrowings from each, and his own modifications, may be studied in the catalogue that Martin made for Butteau's library.[26]

More than fifty years later, Guillaume-François de Bure (1731-1782), also a bookseller of Paris, took up Martin's arrangement and expanded it considerably, in his monumental *Bibliographie Instructive, ou Traité de la Connaissance des Livres Rares et Singuliers,* 7 vols., Paris, 1763-1768. De Bure, with his cousin, Guillaume de Bure, who died in 1820, commanded a good deal of respect in the bibliographic world; hence his fuller schedules of classification were widely used.

It was because of the work of these men that Brunet, when he published the "Table Méthodique en Forme de Catalogue Raisonné," could say in the preface that he was following "the classification adopted in the bibliographic system most generally used in France; a system which, although imperfect, is still the most reasonable we have: it has the added advantage of being used by every one; I have permitted myself to make some slight changes in it only in the subdivisions."[27] It was, of course, the system inherited from Garnier and Bouilliaud, modified and expanded by Martin and de Bure.

As late as 1841, when Brunet's *Manuel* was about ready for its fourth edition, Etienne Gabriel Peignot (1767-1849), himself a noted bibliographer and a recognized authority on the subject, felt free to write: "Le système du P. Garnier, remanié par Martin, et complété par de Bure, doit être suivi de préférence."[28] To Peignot the genesis of the wisely accepted French classification was quite clear.

Thomas Hartwell Horne proposed, in 1825, a modified form of this classification to be used in the library of the British

---

[25] Etienne-Gabriel Peignot, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Bibliologie,* 2 vols., Paris, 1802, II, 236.

[26] *Bibliotheca Bultelliana,* Paris, 1711.

[27] *Manuel du Libraire, etc.,* 1st ed., Paris, 1810, I, vii.

[28] *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (de Techener), Paris, 1841, 7:565. It is significant that this periodical added *et du Bibliothécaire* to its title only after 1857. Bibliography in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France was developed by learned booksellers rather than by librarians. In fact, the "French System" is often called "the System of the Paris Booksellers."

Museum;[29] and although his proposal was not accepted, the scheme actually put into use shows strongly the influence of "the French System."[30] In Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, have classifications which, in some elements, date back to the catalogues of the old Royal Library made by Nicolas Clément in 1684 and 1697. Clément's work was evidently influenced by Garnier and Bouilliaud, the two men whose schemes of classification were published just a few years before he made his catalogue. But since the reform begun by Taschereau in 1858, these libraries have made much use of the more extensive developments in Brunet's scheme.[31] The connection between these two schemes must be looked for, not so much in the arrangement of the main divisions of the classifications, as in the way in which the details are ordered within the large classes.[32]

As a matter of fact, a study of outlines only in the main divisions is never very revealing, and may be misleading. Thus, if one considers the three great American systems of classification, the Decimal, Expansive, and Library of Congress, only in the broad outlines of their main divisions, it is impossible to say just how much or how little kinship they have with Garnier's system. On the one hand, main classes in every scheme of classification can scarcely avoid being somewhat alike, since in every scheme the main divisions seek to quarter the same field of knowledge and of books. On the other hand, rearranging or shifting the order of the large divisions is evidently only a minor change. The heart of every scheme of classification is in the sequences that develop each of the large classes; and it is to these that one must look for essential likenesses and differences. So far as the present

---

[29] *Outlines for the Classification of a Library,* London, 1825.

[30] Sayers, *Manual of Classification,* 123.

[31] The Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève are old libraries. The Bibliothèque Nationale was the old Royal Library, existing from the time of King Jean II, 1319-1364, and got its present name from a decree of the Revolutionary Convention, January 27, 1794. The Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, at first only a small collection of MSS in the twelfth-century Abbey of that name, was made of importance after 1624 by the gifts of Cardinal de la Rouchefoucauld. It also was nationalized in the Revolution. Since 1926, these two libraries, with the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Mazarine, have been switched back and forth in various administrative shuffles of the "Réunion de Bibliothèques Nationales de Paris." See E. Leroy, *Bibliothèques de Paris,* 1937, 5-7. For the classification, see E. G. Ledos, *Histoire des Catalogues des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* Paris, 1936. For Sainte-Geneviève, see Alfred Bougy, *Histoire de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève,* Paris, 1847.

[32] An outline of the main classes for the Bibliothèque Nationale is given by Leroy, *op. cit.,* 35-36.

writer knows, neither Melvil Dewey nor Charles Ammi Cutter ever even saw a copy of Garnier's book; and the Library of Congress classifiers built upon Cutter and Dewey. Yet even in the work of these Americans, the influence of Garnier can be seen: more indirect and more feeble, of course, than in the "French System," but demonstrably present.

The American classifiers organized their large outlines of classification to meet a number and variety of books vastly different from those that Garnier faced; and they worked in and for libraries that differed still more from Garnier's in their philosophy of life and education. But within those broad outlines they found themselves using certain principles of order which Garnier, first amongst librarians, set down definitely and methodically in print. He did not invent those principles of order, but he did apply them to the practical business of classifying the library of the College of Clermont. It is not too much to say that he was the first and most influential writer on the subject to emphasize the supreme importance of organizing the sequences under the main classes. That idea was the first one borrowed by all his successors from Garnier.

The second influence of Garnier, even upon the Americans who knew nothing of him and did not give him a thought, came through his recognition and exposition of the value of mnemonic recurrences in the structure of the sequences. For instance, wherever nations are used as a basis of subdivision in a class, the national distinctions always come in the same order. We use an order different from Garnier's; but we got the idea of the recurring order originally from him. It is an idea made use of in form divisions in every scheme of classification today.

These two important elements of Garnier's classification have really been the reason for his lasting influence, direct and indirect. His main divisions have been shifted about and split up and increased in number, so that they are not recognizable in modern schemes of classification. His tight logical reasoning to establish his classes has been abandoned pretty completely. But his practical guidance in pointing out the value of coherence and mnemonic recurrence in the minor sequences has been adopted everywhere.

The whole line of argument can be summed up this way: two and a half centuries ago, Garnier published the first book in print that embodied a technique of practical classification as it was used in an actual library; the library concerned was, as Edwards says, one of the best used libraries in Paris, and continued to be

widely known and used for another seventy-five years; other bibliographers openly borrowed from, and modified, Garnier's scheme; several important elements of his classification so recommended themselves to other librarians that they have been universally adopted and have become a common possession, into whose origin few enquire. It does not seem rash to conclude from these facts that Garnier's classification has considerable value in itself, and that it has proven to be of no slight help to all those who, since his time, have been engaged in the sisyphean task of library classification.

But when that is said, common-sense compels us to add that Garnier's work, like that of all his fellow-contributors to the art of classifying books, remains a relatively small affair in the field of human learning, and an infinitesimal achievement in the total of human wisdom. Librarians are only the janitors, clerks, and office-boys of the learned world, the keepers and administrators of the written records of what God has taught men and men have laboriously found out for themselves. Librarians are the lowly guardians of learning and wisdom, making no substantive addition to either, content to set in order and to make available to other men what greater than they have created.

W. KANE

Librarian
Loyola University, Chicago

DOCUMENTS

Death Site of Father Marquette

The following is an extract from an undated letter written by Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit to Father Le Saulnier, curé of Montreal. It is found incorporated in another letter of Richard's with date-line, Detroit, August 27, 1827, but written at widely separated intervals of time. The content of the dated letter makes it clear that the erection of the cross at Marquette's grave by Father Richard is to be assigned to 1821, in which year the latter made a trip by a sailing vessel from Detroit to Mackinac, thence along the east shore of Lake Michigan and back to Mackinac, from which place he journeyed to Chicago and thence to the Mississippi. The passage cited is an interesting item of Marquettiana; it supplies important data for identifying the spot where Marquette died and it gives an account of the earliest memorial ceremony known to have taken place at the same spot. The account is here reproduced in English, apparently for the first time, the original letter in French having been published a hundred and twelve years ago (1828).

"I write to you about the Pere Marquet River. (I was detained there eight days by contrary winds). That ought to be enough to make my letter interest you. Here [at this river] are ten families of the Ottawa Nation or the Courtes-Oreilles. I had them questioned with a view to learn from them where [Father Marquette], missionary of the Society of Jesus, had been buried. . . .

"The Ottawa Indians led me to the place where the river emptied in 1675, at the time Father Marquet entered it the 8th of May and died there the 9th [18th] of May. Now it empties at least three thousand feet further up, namely, to the south (for Lake Michigan has discharged its waters for several centuries since by the Strait of Michilli-Mackinac into Lake Huron) between two capes more than sixty feet high, which seem to have been separated by the combined effort of tempests and waves. The place they pointed out to me is about two hundred and forty feet from the present shore of Lake Michigan on the south bank of the old bed of the river which bears the name of Pere Marquette but is today [1821] really to the north of the present river and twenty-eight hundred feet from it; for it is certain that

it changed its course a few weeks after the death of Father Marquet as though in respect for the precious remains of the holy man. This is remarked by travellers, even Protestant ones, in the accounts they have published of their travels, and the fact is confirmed by a tradition preserved even to this day among the old folk of the country. I planted a cross there in presence of eight Ottawa and two Catholics, Frederic Countryman, who made the cross, and Charles Rousseau, a young Canadian of Montreal of your acquaintance, on the same spot where the Indians told me they had seen one that had been planted by Canadians, but had been carried away by the winds about three years ago. With my penknife I carved on the cross this inscription in English:

Fr. Jh. Marquet,
Died Here 9 [18] May 1675

"The following Sunday I celebrated the holy mysteries under a tent, at the present mouth of the river; in the afternoon we went in procession from the altar set up in the morning for Mass, fifty persons, two by two, English, Canadians, Indians. Singing the litanies of the Holy Virgin, we went along the lake on the low smooth sandy shore to the cross erected over the tomb of Father Marquette. You can readily imagine how easy it was to be eloquent in this wild place and at the tomb of a missionary to whom the tradition of the land attributes miracles. There we sang a *Libera* and then returned to our chapel and camping place, chanting the litanies of the saints as we went. In the night the wind changed, blowing in a direction opposite to that which it had been taking for eight days. We attributed this favor to the good missionary at whose tomb we had done reverence" (*Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi,* Lyons, 1828, III, 339-341).

Two years after his death Marquette's remains were disinterred by Kishkakon (Ottawa) Indians and conveyed by them to St. Ignace at the Straits of Mackinac, where they were buried under the mission church (1677). The earliest known subsequent attempt to identify the site of his first burial at the Pere Marquette River was made by the Jesuit historian and traveller, Pere F. X. Charlevoix in 1721. (See his contemporary account in his *Journal of a Voyage to North America.*) The earliest mention of a cross at Marquette's grave occurs in Gordon Saltonstall Hubbard's *Autobiography* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 31-32, in connection

with a trip made by him along the east shore of Lake Michigan in 1821:

"Our journey around Lake Michigan was rather a long one, having occupied about twenty days. Nothing of interest transpired until we reached Marquette River, about where the town of Ludington now stands. This was the spot where Father Marquette died, about one hundred and forty years before, and we saw the remains of a red cedar cross, erected by his men at the time of his death to mark his grave; and though his remains had been removed to the mission at Point St. Ignace, the cross was held sacred by the voyageurs, who, in passing, paid reverence to it by kneeling and making the sign of the cross. It was about three feet above the ground and in a falling condition. We reset it, leaving it out of the ground about two feet, and as I never saw it after, I doubt not that it was covered by the drifting sands of the following winter, and that no white man ever saw it afterwards."

It will be noted that according to Hubbard the cross seen by him was the actual one planted by the two voyageurs who buried Marquette. This may be doubted; but that they did mark the grave with a cross may be taken for granted, as, according to Father Dablon's account, Marquette had requested them to do so.

The record of the successive memorial crosses over Pere Marquette's first grave runs as follows:

1675—Cross planted by the two voyageurs.

1818—Cross seen by G. S. Hubbard.

1821—Cross planted by Father Richard.

1850—Cross seen by Mrs. Dardleska C. Hull (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* IX [1927], 358, 361).

1938—Present cross of wood.

1940—May 18, ground broken for cross of stainless steel.

G. J. GARRAGHAN

Notes and Comment

NEW FRANCE AND LOUISIANA

The only connection between the books and booklets listed below is that they all deal with the French empire in North America over a period ranging from the beginning of the seventeenth century down to the collapse of French rule in the immense area which includes the basins of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi. Insofar as these books encompass a longer period, they fall outside the scope of the comments that will be made here.

The first laborers in New France, referred to in the title of Father Pouliot's book, are the Jesuits Ennemond Massé and Anne de Nouë (*Premiers Ouvriers de Nouvelle-France,* Collection "Service de Dieu," by Léon Pouliot, S. J., Montreal, 1940, 150 pp.). Of the 150 pages, twenty are given to the preface and the foreword, one hundred to Father Massé, and the remaining pages describe the death of Father de Nouë in a blizzard while on an errand of charity. According to the preface, Father Massé was the first Jesuit missionary in Canada; this statement is qualified in the foreword so as not to exclude Father Biard who came with Massé in 1611, but simply "to call attention to the very close connection between Father Massé and the missions of New France in the seventeenth century." The account of Massé's activities in New France is based on the *Jesuit Relations* and on the writings of Champlain. The missionary came three times to Canada. Arriving in 1611, he was expelled two years later at the time of the Argall raid. Massé was one of the three missionaries who came back in 1625, only to be expelled a second time in 1629, when the Kirke brothers took Quebec. He was again in Canada in 1633, and remained in the colony until his death in 1646, at Sillery; and he has the unique distinction of being the only Jesuit missionary to North America who has a monument erected over his tomb.

Father Pouliot's contention, stated several times, is that Massé's return to France and his fourteen years sojourn there, from 1611 to 1625, were providential: for through his influence in the College of La Flèche, he fired many young men with his zeal for the missions, and remains "one of the elements without which the great epic of the Jesuits in New France during the seventeenth century is not explained."

The intervention of Divine Providence in human affairs and in particular to those of the wild Indian days is too much of a medieval concept for the author of another book dealing with the French Jesuits of New France. But this work of George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois,* is reviewed elsewhere in this number.

The book of Dr. Audet (*Les Premiers Etablissements Français au*

Pays des Illinois. La Guerre des Renards, by F. Emile Audet, Paris, 1938, 224 pp.) also deals with the Indians in French colonial times, mainly with the Fox Wars, as the subtitle indicates. The treatment of this central episode is almost wholly based on manuscript sources. In the chapters giving the background, there are errors of fact which could easily have been avoided. For instance, La Salle, on failing to find Tonti at Fort Crèvecoeur in 1680, is said to have gone to the mouth of the Mississippi. The mouth of the Illinois River is undoubtedly meant. There was probably never a time when 20,000 Indians gathered around Starved Rock; certainly not in 1683. La Salle did not build an "entrepôt" at Chicago in 1683; and the fort which Denonville ordered to be built "à Detroit" was not situated where Cadillac later founded his village in 1701. The author's statement, page 34, note 2, "La Salle croyait que les Jésuites indisposaient les sauvages contre lui," disagrees with the conclusion of C. W. Alvord, who wrote: "The cause of this [Iroquois-Illinois] war seems to have been wholly economic, in spite of La Salle's belief that it was due to the intrigues of his enemies, the Jesuits." The place where Father Gravier died is not known; and Varlet did little more than pass through the Illinois country. As for the number of Indians at Detroit shortly after it was founded, six thousand, it is taken from a letter of Cadillac which on examination proves to be filled with gasconades, the six thousand Indians being one of them.

In spite of these errors, several important points are clearly established. Dr. Audet calls attention to the deplorable rivalry between Canada and Louisiana over the Illinois country; as late as 1734, Beauharnois refused to allow one hundred Canadian families to settle in Illinois. Against this opposition, the country progressed; almost unanimously travelers looked upon it as the granary of Louisiana. In conclusion the strategic importance of the Illinois country is emphasized, an importance better understood by the English than by the French. When the English took it, "they smashed the center of French power, seizing the rich territory of the Great Lakes Region, and by separating the two sister colonies, they weakened them both."

A curious mistake occurs in the selective bibliography at the end of the book, where the two letters S. J. occur after Hennepin's name. It is apparently a typographical error, for on page 34, Hennepin is correctly referred to as a Recollect.

Louisiana, which is only mentioned incidentally in the preceding work, is the subject of the next book to be commented upon (*The Catholic Church in Louisiana,* by Roger Baudier, New Orleans, 1939, 605 pp. plus a 57-page index not numbered). It deals with the history of the Catholic Church in the state of Louisiana from the first appearance of missionaries on the Gulf Coast down to the time of the present Archbishop of New Orleans. The opening sentence of the Foreword reads: "To fill a longfelt need among librarians, journalists, teachers,

professors of history, writers, research workers, the clergy and religious, and the public in general as well, for a complete history of the Catholic Church in the state of Louisiana, the author undertook the laborious task of compiling such a work. . . ." Another laborious task unfortunately, remains to be done by those who wish to verify Mr. Baudier's statements, for the system of footnotes adopted by him is of no use whatever. Quite generally, once the bare essentials of the title of a book have been given in the footnote, there is an annoying repetition of "op. cit." without any indication of volume or page. A few instances of insufficient reference may be worth noting. Should one wish to find which river is identified as the Rio del Espiritu Santo, he would have to spend valuable time discovering the relevant passages in the three books referred to, for the pages where these writers mention this river are not given. Again, a statement on page 16 is annotated as follows: "Schlarman, op. cit. Chretien LeClercq, Etablissement de la Foi dans la Nouvelle France." The reader does not know whether the latter title refers to the original or to Shea's translation, and there is no inkling, either here or in the bibliography at the end of the book, that both the original and the translation are in two volumes. Has the author actually used either? There is room for doubt, seeing that in the next footnote, the narrative attributed to Father Membré is quoted from B. F. French's collection; and here again, one is not told in which of the seven parts of the collection the account is to be found. The very first mention (p. 20) of Margry's six-volume, unindexed compilation is as follows: "Margry, op. cit." Nowhere is the title of Margry's work listed, not even in the bibliography at the end of the book. Apart from such important omissions, this bibliography is generally unsatisfactory. The first title reads thus: "Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents, LHQ." LHQ is scarcely an adequate reference to a series such as the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* of which the current volume is No. XXIII. Moreover, in the bibliography alphabetical order is not followed, except as regards the first letter of the first word of a title or an author's name.

The references to the archives are not much more helpful. The series referred to as PANC-C 13 AG:395-408 vo I. 1722-1723 is, for some obscure reason not otherwise identified; and the series *Correspondence Générale, Louisiane,* is sometimes quoted as C 13A, vol. 8, and sometimes as C 13, vol. VIII. Greater care and consistency are highly desirable in a work avowedly intended to be of service to professors of history or to others desirous of ascertaining how authoritative is the evidence on which statements rest. That some verification is not only desirable but necessary seems clear from such inaccuracies as the following.

The Recollect who arrived (p. 18) with La Salle in 1675 was not Chrestien, but Maxime Le Clercq. The narrative attributed to Membré in Le Clercq is not Membré's; it was written in Paris by the unknown

editor of the *First Establishment,* who made use of the so-called official report. This latter is composed of some information about the Mississippi, a letter of Tonti, and a letter of Father Membré; and in Membré's letter there is no mention whatever of his celebrating Mass; Membré makes no explicit mention either of March 29, or of Easter Sunday; the date and the feast are given by Tonti. The first specific date in the missionary's letter is April 7, 1682, when the expedition reached the Gulf; March 17, which is found in Margry, p. 209, is not in the manuscript; it is an addition of the editor. The Mississippi had been named *Rivière Colbert* long before La Salle descended it.

The words in quotation marks on page 17, as of Tonti, are in the *procès-verbal* of La Metairie. Very startling indeed is the statement (p. 17), that "when Governor Frontenac was informed of the immense territory explored by La Salle . . . he suggested the formation of a Vicariate Apostolic." As a matter of fact, when the news of the discovery reached Quebec, in the latter part of 1682, Frontenac was making ready to leave for France, having been recalled by the king the preceding May. In France, he was in disgrace; so much so that it took his influential friends two years to obtain from the king some financial help of which Frontenac was in great need. He had other things to think about beside the erection of an Apostolic Vicariate in America. Again, it is a surprise to be told that Father Anastasius recognized the lower course of the Mississippi when he saw it with Iberville in 1699, considering that the missionary had seen the river but once before, ten years earlier, and at a point 700 miles above its mouth. The statement, page 49, that the sisters who landed at Biloxi in 1721 were "the second nuns to come to the Louisiana colony" is inaccurate. They were the first ever to come. Only twice before are sisters mentioned in connection with the sending of marriageable girls to Louisiana, in 1713, when Cadillac arrived, and in 1704. No sisters came with Cadillac; Crozat wrote that the governor's wife was to act as chaperon during the voyage. Incidentally Madame de Lamothe proved unequal to the task. No sisters came in 1704, for the chaperon, Marie Jeanne Masbé, was not a nun, and she only accompanied the girls as far as La Rochelle.

When such a long span of years is taken for one's province, and especially when too much reliance is placed on uncritical, popular accounts, inaccuracies of the kind are bound to creep in. Their presence is doubly regrettable because of the undoubted merits of the work in other respects. In his use of archival material down to 1763, the period on which the present reviewer feels qualified to pass judgment, Mr. Baudier either faithfully quotes or gives a trustworthy résumé of each document. The story of the development of the Church during the French missionary period is well told; and the jurisdictional controversy is for the first time accurately narrated by a layman. In conclusion, it must be remarked that the author evinces a much better grasp

of the situation than is usually found among secular writers who have taken upon themselves to treat with little or no preparation of this phase of Louisiana history.

M. P.-G. Roy, the archivist of the Province of Quebec, issued last year not only his annual report, but also two booklets, two volumes of documents, and the third volume of an index to the papers of the provostship of Quebec. The first booklet is a popular account of French customs transplanted in Canada (*Nos coutumes et nos traditions françaises,* by Pierre-Georges Roy, "Les Editions des Dix," Montreal, 1939, 64 pp.). The author merely recalls some of the customs, many of which have fallen into desuetude; as, for instance, the number of holydays of obligation. They numbered twenty-eight, and adding to these the fifty-two Sundays of the year, we notice that the faithful had to hear Mass eighty times a year unless they preferred to go to jail or to be fined, since to miss Mass on those days was a civil offense. It is interesting to observe too that the churches were not heated even during the severe Canadian winter. A comparison is made between the observance of Lent in olden times and today; in those days every one who was not actually sick in bed, abstained from meat and fasted for forty days. New Year's Day was *the* secular feast, just as Easter was the principal ecclesiastical feast of the year. The well-known *pain bénit* custom was discontinued on account of abuses. Strict episcopal regulations commanded that every child be baptized on the day of its birth; this was the occasion of a colorful cortège, because not only the relatives of the child, but all the friends and acquaintances of its family went to church to witness the ceremony. Among the customs in connection with marriage, mention is made of the *sommations respectueuses,* a custom which was a corollary of the power given to parents over their children by the Roman law then obtaining in New France, and also of the *mariages à la gaumine,* invented by determined lovers to elude the *Tametsi* decree of 1579. Some account is given of the apparel worn in Canada before and after the Conquest, the wig, the hat, the shoes, the scandal-causing *fontange,* the hoop-skirt; a special apron was worn on Sundays by men. To the question whether the Canadians during the Old Régime were superstitious, the author's answer is affirmative. But M. Roy pleads indulgence. He points to scores of fortune tellers doing a thriving business in our own day, owing to the gullibility of twentieth-century ladies and gentlemen who believe in the science dispensed by palmists, clairvoyants, and tea-leaf readers. "Superstitions for superstitions I prefer those of the past to those of the present. At least the former were based on faith, on some religious belief." If some of the superstitions appear naïve, some of the popular remedies are startling. A few are selected from a survey article published in 1934 by M. E. Z. Massicotte. Many of the French customs and traditions spread to other parts of North America where Canadians settled; thus, they could be

found not so very long ago in the Northwest Territory, and specifically in Detroit and in the Illinois country.

Less curious is M. Roy's second booklet (*La Famille De La Porte de Louvigny,* by Pierre-Georges Roy, Lévis, 1939, 47 pp.). In spite of the title, these pages deal with the founder of the Canadian family of that name, and not with the family itself, for the simple reason that "none of his sons distinguished himself, far from it." The procedure followed is the same as that adopted in the numerous other biographical works of the author—a chronological sequence of statements about the personage, with an occasional document quoted at greater length. M. de Louvigny belongs as much to the early history of the United States as he does to that of Canada. He was several times commandant at Michilimackinac, and headed the first army of white men which invaded the Northwest. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Louvigny sent a memoir to the French government outlining a plan for carrying out successfully La Salle's abortive attempt to conquer Mexico and its mines.

The two volumes of documents published by M. Roy contain all the papers which the descendants of the founder of the Lery family in Canada have handed over to the archives of Quebec (*Inventaire des Papiers de Lery conservés aux Archives de la Province de Quebec,* by Pierre-Georges Roy, Quebec, 1939, 2 volumes of 291 pages each). In 1717, the Conseil de Marine, then in charge of the French colonies, sent to Canada the engineer Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery, "to draw the plans of the projected public works." After their completion, he was to return to France, which he did; but during his short stay in Canada, he had married a girl of Quebec; and thanks to influential protectors, he asked and obtained leave to return in 1718 to the colony where he remained until his death in 1756. The first volume contains the routine correspondence between Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery, Sr., and the Court of France. In the second volume there is much information about his eldest son who played a small part in the history of the section of the United States which was once under French rule. At the age of 19, this son accompanied the Longueil expedition against the Chickasaw. In 1749, he explored the great lakes from Montreal to Detroit, and sent compass-traverses of his route. In 1754, he came to the West again. Diaries and notes of this journey have been published in previous *Rapports.* To him we owe several plans of Detroit and its vicinity, as the town was in the middle of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately there is no index to either of the two volumes, and the letters of the second volume are not arranged according to strict chronological order.

The inventory of the papers composing the registers of the provostship of Quebec is brought to a close with the third volume (*Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec,* by Pierre-Georges Roy, Quebec, 1939, vol. III, 291 pp.). This institution, the lowest court

that took cognizance of both civil and criminal cases, was founded in 1666, discontinued in 1674, and re-established in May 1677. The papers include edicts of the king, ordinances of intendants and commissions of lower officials, but the bulk of these documents are registered marriage contracts and donations. In the appendix of more than one hundred pages, many examples of registration of donations are given in full. The document printed on pages 208-209 should prove of interest to students of the history of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley. It is a donation to the Recollects of a tract of land, one hundred arpents square, situated near Fort Frontenac, by "Robert Cavelier escuyer S^{r} de la Salle Gouverneur pour le Roy du Fort de Frontenacq estant de present en cette ville [Quebec]." The interest of the document dated November 5, 1676, does not consist in its mention of the donation itself, but in the fact that it enables one to fill another gap of the explorer's career before he came to the West.

Margry has a summary of another donation, dated March 22, 1677. As usual, he omitted saying where he had seen the document and where the instrument was drawn. Likely he saw it among the papers of the Recollects which were then and are now in the Archives of the department of Seine-et-Oise, at Versailles. Réveillaud published an extract from this document in the appendix of his edition of the *Histoire chronologique*. Since this donation, too, was made by "Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle . . . present en sa personne . . . a Quebec," the question at once arises: did La Salle spend the time between November 1676 and March 1677 in Quebec or at Fort Frontenac? The significance of this question will be readily appreciated.

M. Roy's yearly report as archivist (*Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1938-1939,* Quebec, 1939, 385 pp.) contains a short relation of the fall of Quebec, 1759, and the calendar of the correspondence of the first Archbishop of Quebec by M. Carron. This calendar will not be continued, because "the time has not yet come to probe the secret of the religious events of the country from 1840 on. In years to come, these events will lose their topical character, and then some future archivist will be allowed to scrutinize them." This correspondence contains little that is of interest to students of the history of this country, and nothing at all of interest to those whose main concern is with the colonial period, when New France included not only present-day Canada but one-third of the territory of the United States as well. M. Roy promises to give, in the next report, an inventory of the sources for the religious history of Canada under the French régime, beginning with the year 1621. This inventory, he says in the letter of transmittal to the Minister of the Province of Quebec, "will not fail to shed light on certain points which have remained obscure. In any case this compilation will certainly be of great help to historians who will have it at hand."

Nearly half of the present report is devoted to the correspondence

of Vaudreuil with the French government, including not only the letters sent from Canada to the mother country, but the answers of the officials in France. On this correspondence were based two books published in 1938: one by M. Roy himself and the other by Dr. Hammang as the first part of a thesis. As a first installment, the letters here printed run from November 15, 1703, to November 4, 1706. "A few letters of M. de Vaudreuil have been published in . . . [the] *Documentary History of the State of New York,* but they are nearly always incomplete. We are printing them in full." There are also a few extracts from these letters in volume XXXIII of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical *Collections,* where they are published in English, as a part of the so-called Cadillac papers. Vaudreuil's term as governor began two years after the founding of Detroit, and he had more than his share of trouble with his subordinate, the pugnacious M. de Lamothe Cadillac.

This report will prove as useful as the others which contain Frontenac's and Talon's correspondence. The more we have of such correspondence published *in extenso,* the less excuse will there be for arbitrary interpretations of certain passages wrenched from their context. Without in any way belittling the real service rendered to students by the publication of the letters of Vaudreuil, the present writer may be permitted to suggest that one would naturally expect to see published, after the letters of the great intendant and of the fighting governor, those of Duchesneau and Champigny, who served as intendants during Frontenac's two terms of office. For an adequate understanding of the state of affairs in the colony, of the conflicts of policy, it seems necessary *ut audiatur et altera pars.* When this has been done—and M. Roy is thoroughly competent to do it well—students will have in a convenient form the greater part of the basic documentation for the colonial history of the last third of the seventeenth century.

J. D.

Book Reviews

In Winter We Flourish: Life and Letters of Sarah Worthington King Peter, 1800-1877. By Anna Shannon McAllister. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1939. Pp. xi+398.

This is a biography done along the best conventional lines. No gratuitous psychological interpretation or other devices of the so-called "new biography" mar the effect. On a basis of thoroughgoing research into an unusually ample supply of first-class source-materials the author has reconstructed with sober adherence to fact the life-story of a notable American woman of many contacts and distinct accomplishments in the fields of religious and social service. Obviously one of the prerequisites of an effective biography is adequacy of material; happily the prerequisite was met in the instance in hand. Sarah Peter was a competent letter writer and diarist and her self-revelations in these capacities are significant enough to have made the task of portraying her to the life a relatively easy one for the biographer. All in all, Mrs. McAllister's production achieves a high degree of excellence in interesting, illuminating content and literary technique.

Sarah Worthington King Peter, daughter of Thomas Worthington, Governor of Ohio, entered the Catholic Church in 1855, being then fifty-four and a widow for the second time. She had been married to Edward King, son of Senator Rufus King of New York, and on his demise, to William Peter, British Consul at Philadelphia, a man of culture and scholarly attainments. As a Catholic laywoman Mrs. Peter showed herself an unusually zealous and efficient promoter of the Church's interests. In Cincinnati, where very many of her years were spent, she was a foremost figure in advancing Catholic social welfare work. The Church's religious congregations, both of men and women, were especially dear to her and she had the distinction of introducing a number of them into that city, among them the Sisters of Mercy, the Little Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and the Passionist Fathers. In this particular field of endeavor her gifts of address, her ability to meet and deal with ecclesiastical authorities and solicit funds effectively, enabled her to achieve a striking record of success.

But Mrs. Peter's interests were by no means narrowly religious. She was a figure and a striking one in the social and cultural life of the communities in which she lived. While a resident of Philadelphia she founded on behalf of young women a school of design in the industrial arts, the first institution of its kind in the United States. At Cincinnati she established the Ladies Academy of Art, out of which developed the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts and School of Design, which in turn was one of the nuclei of the Cincinnati Art Museum. Her

talent for social leadership was put to good account in her various enterprises for raising the artistic and cultural tone of the community. Her house, wrote the Comtesse de Chambrun, became "as near an approach to the literary and artistic *salon* as was seen in America" (p. 210). Meantime, in various trips to Europe—she made five and was preparing for a sixth when death intervened—she made helpful contacts with outstanding lay and ecclesiastical personages of the day, including Pius IX, who was impressed by her forceful and enterprising as well as deeply spiritual character. Such was the life of Sarah King Peter, many-sided, distinguished, beneficent, colorful, rich in biographical possibilities.

Mrs. McAllister is to be congratulated on her skill in assembling and utilizing the material with which she worked. If the essence of biography, as Sir Sidney Lee would have it, is the truthful transmission of personality, the volume under review must be said to have hit the biographer's target squarely and effectively. In it the personality of a notable woman, who served both Church and state with the finest results, is set before us with engaging realism. One comes from the reading of these pages with the conviction that here of a certainty was a woman so fashioned, so radiant of wholesome influence that the world was in palpable ways the nobler and the better for her having lived.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Dictionary of the American Hierarchy. By Rev. Joseph Bernard Code, Sc. Hist. D. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, Toronto, 1940. Pp. xxii+425.

In these days, when factual information seems to be the chief concern of teachers and pupils in schools, Father Code's *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* should be received with at least three cheers. It is a "ready-reference" work, of the type dearly beloved of American librarians, since it gives them quickly and with a minimum of labor the bare bones of fact which form the principal mental pabulum of the librarians' customers. It presents, in alphabetical order, skeleton sketches of more than five hundred American bishops, somewhat in the fashion of a Who's Who.

Father Code has done his task accurately, neatly, and modestly, and has produced an excellent reference book. If he has, quite properly, kept in mind the hasty needs of bare-fact hunters, he has also generously enriched his book with plenty of bibliographical leads, and with no less than eleven comparative and analytical lists. The Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani, contributes an edifying and scholarly introduction.

The less hurried reader can find some good digging material here. He can discover, for instance, that of the five hundred or so American bishops considerably more than half were foreign-born, of whom a

solid hundred hailed from Ireland, more than the total of French, German, Belgian, and English bishops combined.

W. KANE

Pope's Digest 1815. Edited by Francis S. Philbrick. Two volumes. The Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, 1938, 1940.

These two volumes are a new edition of *Laws of the Territory of Illinois Revised and Digested under the Authority of the Legislature* by Nathaniel Pope and printed at Kaskaskia in 1815. They are volumes XXVIII and XXX of *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, which *Collections* are under the general editorship of Theodore C. Pease. They are Volume IV of the Law Series. To avoid all difficulty for students who wish to cite this work in the future it will be most convenient to catalogue it as we have taken the liberty to do at the head of this review. Since there is nothing to criticize about the two volumes but the non-essentials this reviewer's remarks are to be taken as trite and in no way as disparaging the useful labor that has been expended on the essential portions of the work at hand. The back of the book has Illinois Historical Collections; the first title page has Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library; another page has *Laws of the Illinois Territory,* while the following has *Laws of the Territory of Illinois,* etc., as given above. At first blush something seems radically askew in the general index. For instance, the index gives: Cattle, branding of, I:117; turning to volume I, page 117, we find laws about divorce. We know that Paul Angle under whose direction the index was prepared does not make mistakes of the kind, and hence in solving the puzzle we find each page with two numbers. While this may easily be condoned, it would not be right to excuse the typographical errors in the text. The introduction by Professor Philbrick is in sixty-five carefully annotated pages. It is an exceedingly useful background study of the life of Nathaniel Pope and of the development and revisions of the Illinois Territory statutes.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

The Wars of the Iroquois. By George T. Hunt. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1940. Pp. 209.

This is a study of intertribal relations. The thesis of the book is that the cause of the wars waged by the Iroquois was trade rivalry. As soon as beaver disappeared from their territory the Iroquois in order to survive were obliged to act as middlemen between the other tribes and the whites and in consequence were under the necessity either of forcing the other Indians to trade through them or of conquering and exploiting the territory themselves. This thesis is by no means new, for C. H. McIlwain clearly established it a quarter of a century ago. The intervention of Providence in human affairs is eliminated as a

medieval concept, and the Jesuits have much to do with the origin of the concept. Mr. Hunt remarks: "Probably nine-tenths of the material written about them [the Iroquois] was written by Jesuit priests, who, while competent and careful reporters of fact, were often mistaken in their interpretation of cause and result. After all, the truly clerical mind did not concern itself overmuch with cause and result, for there was one cause to which could be ascribed all things difficult to understand, mysterious Providence and the hand of God. . . . The Jesuits were keen men but comparatively simple in the humanities, and they hated and feared the Iroquois above all things" (p. 165). However simple the Jesuits were in the humanities, not a few of them had found out long before 1940 that selfishness was the prime motive of the Indians in their dealings with red and white man alike. The simplicity of the Jesuits seems rather to have consisted in this, that they did not exclude the intervention of Providence by advocating the less simple but more shallow theory known as the "economic interpretation of history." The present writer would be the last to deny the great part played by economic factors in the Iroquois wars; those who rule out other factors, such as the intervention of Providence, have never proved the truth of their contention.

Another shortcoming of the "clerical mind" as pictured by Mr. Hunt is its inconsistency. Twice we are told (p. 40 and p. 188) that Lalemant when writing to Richelieu, "put the sole responsibility for the deaths [among the Hurons] upon the Iroquois, whereas in writing to Vitelleschi, four days later, he attributed them solely to the plague." The inconsistency here is far from obvious, for the fact is that Lalemant says the same thing to the Cardinal and to the General of the Jesuits. To Richelieu: "On en [Hurons] a baptisé dans les maladies extraordinaires [scl. the plague] qui sont survenues plus de mille dont au moins plusieurs petits enfants s'en sont envolés au ciel." To Vitelleschi: "Ex moribundis [from the plague] baptisati sunt plus 1000, inter quos infantes plurimi vitam infelicem felici morte praevenerunt." Nor is there any inconsistency in the other passage of the letter to Richelieu to which the reader is referred. Lalemant does not put the sole responsibility for the deaths among the Hurons upon the Iroquois, for he says: "Les entreprises de ces nations ennemies [Iroquois] leur ayant, particulièrement depuis quelques annees, réussi à souhait, *ils ont reduit ces pauvres peuples icy* [Hurons] *à un tel poinct,* que je ne croy pas que, si on n'arreste le mal en sa source, il[s]puissent plus longtemps subsister; c'est ce qu'on accordera facilement si on considère qu'en moins de dix ans, *ils se trouvent réduits du nombre de trente mille ames à celuy de dix mille;* de sorte que si par le passé, dans la multitude qu'ils étoient, ils n'ont pu résister à leurs ennemis, qu'en pouvons nous esperer à l'avenir?"

The question hinges on the sense of the italicized clauses, and specifically on the sense of the verb *réduire* in both contexts. In the

first instance it means "to subdue," in the second "to diminish." Since in the past, when the Hurons numbered 30,000, they were unable to resist the Iroquois, how will they be able to resist them now that they are only one-third of their former number? There is absolutely nothing in the text to suggest that this diminution was caused solely or even mainly by the Iroquois; on the contrary, three paragraphs above, Lalemant distinctly speaks of the "maladies extraordinaires qui sont survenues," during which the mortality among the Hurons was so great that the Jesuits baptized more than one thousand of the stricken Indians.

It is unfortunate that, in a work in which there is so much to commend, the author seems to have made a point of parading his anti-clerical bias; as, for instance, on page 185: "Partially, perhaps, because Charlevoix was himself a cleric and surrounded by clerical influences, and partially because the sources were not readily available to him, his view of the Iroquois is as astigmatic as that of his brothers of the previous century, or that of Francis Parkman of the century following him. The *Jesuit Relations* had not been printed when he wrote, and although he consulted them he seems to have had difficulty with his chronology." The meaning of the last statement can hardily be that the *Jesuit Relations* remained in manuscript until the Canadian government or Thwaites published them; for the *Relations de la Nouvelle-France* were already in print when Charlevoix wrote, and it is curious to find this anachronism in a passage which takes the Jesuit historian to task for his lapse in chronology.

The necessity of recurring to sources and of critically appraising them is more than once emphasized, and rightly so. "In many cases a simple citation is plainly insufficient, for the nature of the document to which reference is made, the author or authors and the date and place of writing are often of great importance in determining the weight of evidence" (p. 188). Not only is this policy of great importance, it is essential. But unfortunately, Mr. Hunt seems to have lost sight of its importance in the pages dealing with La Salle (pp. 147 f.). The *Relation* to which he so often refers was not written by the explorer; it is a memoir composed by Claude Bernou on letters of La Salle. It would have been advisable also to criticize the statement of Tonti (p. 153), with regard to the number of Indians clustered around Starved Rock. The two memoirs of Tonti do not agree on this point, and it is difficult to reconcile what he says in the first memoir about the coming of the Miami with what La Salle wrote from Chicago, in June 1683; and the numbers found on Franquelin's map which were given to the map-maker by La Salle himself, are not consistent with the explorer's own statements in the same letter written from Chicago.

The contemporary maps which place the Mascouten in southern Michigan as late as 1660 are not authoritative (p. 111), insofar as that year is concerned, for they contain out-of-date information with regard

to the location of these Indians and are all based on Champlain's map of 1632. This last, in turn expresses cartographically the location of the Assistagueronons (Asistagueroüon, in Champlain's text) as told to Champlain, in 1616, by the Cheveux-Relevés. From the spelling of the name of the tribe and its location on Sanson's map of 1656—the basis of the other two maps mentioned—it is clear that the geographer made use of two sources: Champlain's map and the *Jesuit Relations,* specifically of the *Relation* of 1641-1642, where it is said that the habitat of the Atsistaehronons is to the west of the Neuter Nation.

Mr. Hunt seems to have fully realized the necessity of weighing the evidence, but, he observes, "to give full particulars in each case would make citation itself a monumental task" (p. 188). Nevertheless, unless sufficiently full particulars be given, a writer will be only too likely to repeat what is found in literary essays; and unless statements rest on definite and valid evidence, unsupported assertions such as the following will be multiplied: "The Jesuits hated La Salle, whose imperial schemes could not be reconciled with the Jesuit dream of a pastoral and unexploited Indian interior, ruled over by the church, and La Salle repaid their hatred with interest, and was loud in his accusations regarding the venality of the priesthood" (p. 153). It would be interesting to see on what valid evidence the alleged hatred of the Jesuits for La Salle rests, and precisely what were La Salle's imperial schemes. If one takes the trouble of examining his accusations of venality, one finds that their only distinctive mark is their loudness. As for La Salle's matchless skill in handling the natives, the evidence given by Mr. Hunt (p. 154), is not very impressive—*three* Iroquois took to flight when La Salle surrounded by Frenchmen, Mohicans, and other New England Indians met them at the Miami villages.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

Turkey at the Straits. By James T. Shotwell and Francis Deák. Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. xii+196.

This is an excellent survey from the historical and diplomatic viewpoint of one of the ancient and ever present problem of European history, the question of the control of the connecting waters between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and of the land routes on the south between Europe and Asia. The emphasis is placed on the more recent treaties, protocols, conventions, and pacts which have kept statesmen quite well employed. Four appendices of a documentary nature cover some forty pages; a serviceable bibliography, two good maps, a chronological index, and a general index are very helpful. The book is timely in view of the current struggle for power in Europe; it lays a fundamental background in giving a description of the power politics revolving around the key position; it offers sufficient evidence to show that even after the present ordeal by fire and blood will have

run its course the politics of the future will continue to include within their scope the Bosporus, Marmara, and the Dardanelles. The authors of *Turkey at the Straits* are well-fitted to present such a survey and guide. Dr. Shotwell whose authoritativeness has brought him to many prominent posts relevant to international relations has been for years Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Francis Deák, a colleague of Shotwell at Columbia University but member of the Law faculty, is known as a writer on international law and international relations.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Recent Books

by

Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D.

SOME LA SALLE JOURNEYS, $2.25

JOURNAL OF JEAN CAVELIER, $2.50

FRONTENAC AND THE JESUITS, $3.20

(To make these excellent works more available reductions in price are made to libraries and teachers.)

◈

Scholarly research, bringing new viewpoints and new findings, these books are necessary for all students of American History and interesting to all readers.

◈

Published by

THE INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

6525 SHERIDAN ROAD · CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Subscribe to

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Quarterly

50c a copy. $2.00 by the year. $2.50 a year in foreign countries.
Back numbers and volumes are available.

SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION OR REQUESTS TO

MID-AMERICA, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY
Chicago

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

✦

THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

LAKE SHORE CAMPUS
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
HOME STUDY

✦

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

MEDICINE
LAW
DENTISTRY
SOCIAL WORK
COMMERCE
NURSING

SAINT BERNARD'S HOSPITAL UNIT
OAK PARK HOSPITAL UNIT
SAINT ANNE'S HOSPITAL UNIT
SAINT ELIZABETH'S HOSPITAL UNIT
COLUMBUS HOSPITAL UNIT
SAINT FRANCIS HOSPITAL UNIT

✦

THE SUMMER SESSION

✦

THE AFFILIATED HIGH SCHOOLS

SAINT IGNATIUS HIGH SCHOOL
LOYOLA ACADEMY

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 22, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1940

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

OCTOBER 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

PROPAGANDA IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION . . . . . *Charles H. Metzger* 243

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE RECONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO . . . . . *J. Manuel Espinosa* 262

A CALENDAR OF LA SALLE'S TRAVELS, 1643-1683 . . . . . *Jean Delanglez* 278

NOTES AND COMMENT 306

Understanding Hispanic America; Some Recent Publications; Varia

BOOK REVIEWS 311

ADAMS AND COLEMAN (EDITORS), *Dictionary of American History;* PEASE AND JENISON (EDITORS), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755.*

INDEX 315

MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, *Chicago*

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
PAUL J. FOIK
W. EUGENE SHIELS
RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, $2.00; in foreign countries, $2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

OCTOBER 1940

VOLUME 22 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 11 NUMBER 4

Propaganda in the American Revolution*

Originally the term propaganda was applied to a group of cardinals whose duty was oversight of Catholic foreign missions; later it was also a college, founded by Pope Urban VIII in 1627, for the education of missionary priests. In reality propaganda is nothing more than "an effort systematically directed towards the gaining of public support for an opinion or course of action."[1] In this sense every advertiser or political party, every school of thought or church, has recourse to propaganda; in this sense Christ and His apostles were propagandists. It follows that as the end, the means, and motives, are good or bad, propaganda is good or bad. Propagandists, it should be remembered, may be sincere even when their prejudices, fallacies, and self-deception are apparent to others; for events have shown what havoc emotion and war hysteria may work with the judgment and belief of men of unquestioned integrity. Nevertheless, in the mind of the public today propaganda is insidious, intriguing, dishonest—something to be guarded against. This change in the meaning of propaganda is due to the activity of professional propagandists, persons enlisted to promote a cause, many of them acting as if all means are justified when directed to a good end.

All propaganda strives to create an attitude of mind; specifically war propaganda endeavors to produce an attitude favorable to one of the combatants, hostile to the other. Circumstances, and the identity of those to whom it is directed, will determine its features. Thus, it may attempt to arouse the people to unity, enthusiasm, and generous effort, or it may combat apathy and discouragement and maintain or bolster morale; again, it may

* A part of this study was read at the annual convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, May 3, 1940, in Omaha, Nebraska.

[1] This definition is taken from the Standard Dictionary.

fix its attention on the enemy, strive to frustrate his plans, expose his deceits, combat his claims, or weaken the attachment of his allies; finally, its purpose may be the winning of the sympathy or support of neutrals. In all cases it is partial; it presents one of the parties to the conflict as favorably as possible, the other as unfavorably as may be; it strives to have the war seem like a struggle between the good and the evil, between heroes and tyrants.

That propaganda was necessary to the success of the separatist movement in the American Revolutionary period needs little demonstration. The Albany Congress had revealed the disunion of the colonies. Population was not homogeneous; moreover, creeds, social conventions, commercial interests, and many other factors kept the colonies apart. There was little sense of unity, no sense of nationality. Not a few of the prominent colonists were Tories before and after 1776, and they found many of like mind among the common folk. A great many, perhaps a majority, while resentful of Britain's interference and general attitude, were unconvinced of the necessity or feasibility of such extreme measures as independence and recourse to arms. Only a minority was prepared to go any length to achieve independence. How could this minority prevail? How could it eliminate dissent, crush opposition, overcome indifference, and bring people to realize the righteousness of the new cause?

Propaganda was the answer. To this end all the channels for the communication of ideas were enlisted; the spoken and written word, the platform and pulpit, were rallied to the cause, so that a veritable deluge of letters, pamphlets, essays, books, speeches, sermons descended on the colonists, all of them conforming to Franklin's idea of presenting the patriot cause "in its best dress."

It is said that great progress has been made in the art and technique of propaganda since 1776. Methods have undoubtedly improved, and new ways of disseminating propaganda have been devised, but study of the press and literature of the time reveals the American patriots to have been no inexperienced novices. On occasion they made use of nearly all the devices of the propagandist of today, and some of them displayed the same callous disregard for ethical and moral considerations. The professionals among them were not ignorant of how to touch the heartstrings and arouse the emotions of love and hatred; they knew how to expatiate on freedom and slavery; they appreciated the value of

a hero or a scapegoat; they were aware of the effect created by identifying their cause with cherished institutions such as religion and patriotism. Moreover, they resorted to understatement, interpretation, distortion, rumor, boasting; they raised new issues to dwarf or obscure others, and they enlarged on the errors, losses, and misdeeds of the enemy. As expediency suggested they made verse, satire, parody, sheer ridicule do good service; and, finally, they made it seem that all the righteous and respectable people, and the plain men and women too, were on their side.

As is the case in every national crisis a list of American propagandists reads like a roll call of distinguished Americans. Topmost ranking must be given to Samuel Adams and Thomas Paine, for they were professionals motivated by interest. Supporting them, but less vehement in language or less untiring in effort, were John Adams, Patrick Henry, and James Otis, to mention but a few of the more eminent. But since their activities have been traced and their contributions have been assessed by other scholars,[2] we may content ourselves with mere mention of Paine's "Common Sense," and John Adams' "Novanglus," and fix our attention on the humbler folk whose vehicle of expression was the colonial press. Individually of less weight than the acknowledged great it may be that in the aggregate their influence was no less far-reaching. Furthermore their activity served the useful purpose of creating the impression that opposition to Britain was not confined to a group, however articulate and influential; and, since these people were not professional agitators but individual enthusiasts acting spontaneously their words are more likely to reveal the mind of America. Pieced together their contributions form a variegated mosaic.

Addressing the "Freemen of America" in May 1774 "A Philadelphian" declared[3] that the conduct of the British parliament towards America for several years past "carries strong marks of insanity and folly." Future ages, he thought, would find it difficult to believe that British ancestors had sired the Americans, for so tamely had the latter submitted to outrages that "liberty, property, life, are now but names in America." In conclusion he reminded his countrymen that they were contending for the

---

[2] For example: Ralph V. Harlow, *Samuel Adams, Promotor of the American Revolution,* New York, 1923; John C. Miller, *Samuel Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda,* Boston, 1936; F. J. Gould, *Thomas Paine,* London, 1925; Gilbert Chinard, *Honest John Adams,* Boston, 1933.

[3] *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser,* May 18, 1774.

crown and prerogative of the king, as well as liberty, property, life. At the same time New Yorkers were exhorted[4] to every effort in the cause of freedom and the defense of their liberties; they must allow no "set of highwaymen" to despoil them of their freedom "whilst an arm can even feebly be raised for its support." Another writer who directed his remarks "To all the English Colonies of North America"[5] appealed to their regard for the admiration and gratitude of their posterity to be won by opposition to repression, sole means of averting slavery and ruin.

In late June[6] amazement was expressed that the late proceedings of Parliament had not "dumb-foundered[sic] every Tory in America," those in Boston above all. "That sort of poor spirited animals," it was argued, "must have wagged their tails and licked the feet of their despots so long as to have lost the spirit of an ordinary cur," or they could never act as they do. And Philadelphia was told[7] that the connection between the liberties of America and Great Britain was so intimate that the enslaving of the former must set up despotism in the latter. Indeed, the liberals of all nations had fixed their eyes on America, the last asylum of liberty. Should those who pursue her "with inexpiable rage" prevail in America "every vestige of Liberty will be obliterated from the face of the Globe."

Early in June the citizens of Philadelphia had already been impressed when a pause in business occurred, bells were tolled, flags of the ships were lowered to half-mast, and nine-tenths of the citizens, Friends alone excepted, shut up their houses.[8] This was in fulfillment of the promise of Charles Thomson to Boston that in order to give expression to their sympathy for their compatriots in the Massachusetts metropolis they would suspend business on the first of June and request that services be held in their respective churches.[9] Coincidently the people of England

---

[4] *Rivington's New York Gazeteer,* May 26, 1774.
[5] *Pennsylvania Journal,* June 1, 1774.
[6] *Massachusetts Spy,* June 23, 1774.
[7] *Pennsylvania Journal,* June 29, 1774.
[8] *Rivington's New York Gazeteer,* June 9, 1774.
[9] *Ibid.,* June 30, 1774.

A reminiscence of Thomas Jefferson is not without interest. After visiting the octogenarian at Monticello in December 1824 Daniel Webster wrote down a memorandum of the conversation. Mr. Jefferson remarked: "About the time of the Boston Port Bill, the patriotic feeling in Virginia had become languid and worn out, from some cause or other. It was thought by some of us to be absolutely necessary to excite the people; but we hardly knew the right means. At length it occurred to us to make grave faces and propose a fast. Some of us, who were the younger members of the assembly, resolved upon the measure. We thought Oliver Cromwell would be a good guide in such a case. So we looked into Rushworth, and drew up our resolu-

were challenged[10] to emulate their forefathers, who in their devotion to liberty were as opposed to enslaving others as to being enslaved themselves. And "Civis"[11] conjured his fellows to draw inspiration from their love of civil and religious rights, their regard for their children, and determine like men to be free.

In neighboring Connecticut the Committee of Correspondence inveighed[12] against ministerial wrath charged with cruelty and injustice, and offered assurance to the selectmen of Boston that they stood whole-heartedly with the loyal and patriotic town of Boston. Furthermore they denounced the ministers, merchants, barristers, and attorneys who in defiance of the sentiments of their fellow townsmen had drawn up a recent "fawning, adulating address to Governor Hutchinson, the scourge of the province which gave him birth and the pest of America."

The same issue of *The Spy* sprang to the defense of Massachusetts Bay, denounced the outcry raised against her, and while admitting that some of the publications originating there had better been suppressed, declared her people to be "moral, religious, quiet and loyal," affectionately attached to the welfare of Great Britain and dearly valuing their dependence on her. The Father of mercies, it was said, who gave us existence and formed us for society, intended our happiness and consequently never meant us to be the slaves of Britons.

Similarly a rousing address to the freemen of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania by "A Plaindealer"[13] reminded them that if they were enslaved they must blame themselves, not their enemies. In the crisis they must draw inspiration from the tradition of their ancestors, and from the realization that their fate and that of their wives, children, and distant posterity rested with them. God, said he, had marked out this country as a land of refuge for the distressed of all nations. Therefore even if har-

---

tions after the most pious and praiseworthy examples. It would hardly have been in character for us to present them ourselves. We applied therefore to Mr. Nicholas, a grave and religious man; he proposed them in a set and solemn speech; some of us gravely seconded him, and the resolutions were passed unanimously. . . . Our fast produced very considerable effect. We all agreed to go home and see that preachers were provided in the counties, and notice given to our people. I came home to my own county, provided a preacher, and notified the people, who came together in great multitudes, wondering what it meant." Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster,* 18 vols., Boston, 1903, XVII, 368-369.

[10] *Massachusetts Spy,* June 30, 1774.

[11] *Pennsylvania Journal,* July 6, 1774.

[12] *Massachusetts Spy,* July 7, 1774.

[13] *Pennsylvania Journal,* July 13, 1774.

assed to madness, and menaced with Tyburn if they complained, they must put their trust in Him.

Visual argument for unity was presented when the *Pennsylvania Journal*[14] placed at its masthead a serpent divided into ten parts, each segment bearing the name of a colony. This device, with the caption "Unite or Die," expressed the need for concerted action in a manner intelligible to all.[15] To combat the fallacy that their interests were not involved in the fate of remote Boston, South Carolinians were reminded[16] how just as an enemy always aims at the heart so ministerial vengeance had aimed at Boston because "there lie the vitals of American freedom," a fact well known to everyone.

By January 1775 the colonial cause could lay claim to "converts,"[17] among them "Chance," who was so overcome by remorse that he declared he could not pass another hour of life without resigning the most odious office any man sustained, and publicly confessing his offense. This "odious office," inherited by the penitent, was master of stag hounds with annual emolument of £2000. Scion of a distinguished family "Chance" had sailed on a brig laden with tea in order to acquire "a perfect knowledge of the pestiferous sons of liberty." Shipwreck spared his life and brought him into contact with those he had detested. Conversion followed. "I was a most wretched Tory," he laments, "but now a staunch Whig, and I think my change is saving, as I hope for salvation in no other way." But not content with mere profession of faith he was bent upon good works; he would forswear his native land, and resign his lucrative sinecure "for the pleasure and satisfaction I hope to enjoy among the glorious freemen of America."

In the same newssheet another patriot avowed his ignorance of what further misdeeds were meditated by the "men of blood," but he feared there were good grounds for anticipating many things. In this belief he was not alone, for previously an enumeration of American grievances in a speech at Lewestown on the Delaware had listed them under twenty-seven heads.[18] And the enumerator concluded with the observation that this "dreadful catalogue" could not be complete because he knew some items had escaped his memory.

---

[14] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1774.

[15] In January 1775 the *Massachusetts Spy* appended to its masthead a divided serpent about to be attacked by a dragon.

[16] *Massachusetts Spy,* July 28, 1774.

[17] *Ibid.*, January 12, 1775.

[18] *Pennsylvania Journal,* August 3, 1774.

Simultaneously the *Boston Gazette* refuted the calumnies which had appeared in Rivington's New York paper.[19] Their purpose was found to be misrepresentation of Boston to her sister colonies, and an attempt to make it appear that New Yorkers regarded New Englanders as "hypocrites, independents, persecutors, and what not." The source of these "dirty, malicious paragraphs and extracts from letters" it traced to a "little junto of hireling prostitutes placed under the command of an unsavory high-flying jacobite priest," recently arrived in Boston to plot with local brethren the division of the colonies, and the frustration of the resolutions and recommendations of the Continental Congress for the recovery of rights and prevention of slavery. Still another consideration was the remuneration of the conspirators "while in the services of Dr. Faustus and the Devil." Citizens of New York, it was asserted, held this group in the same contempt that Bostonians accorded "Philanthrop" and his tribe.

In mid-January too[20] appeared the first of a series of apologies for the Boston Tea Party in what purported to be an extract from a London publication. That memorable action is found to be no act of rebellion but an honorable deed, warranted by the law of nature, and hence not illegal. Passive obedience under the circumstances would have been treason, and therefore displeasing to God. Wise and virtuous men, good citizens, or true patriots could not have done otherwise. Readers, except the few who open their eyes to just that degree of truth their prejudices will tolerate, must agree that the Bostonians "did what was strictly consonant with right and justice" in destroying the tea, and yet, they are pursued by British vengeance. Nevertheless, they must be deemed true patriots whose names when revealed will be held in veneration by their countrymen. For what they did was morally and politically necessary; it was wise and just; in reality it was an act of self-defense, and, considering the provocation, it is remarkable that there was no disorder, no incivility to anyone, no damage to anything but the tea.

To discredit Tories still further Sam Adams notified the public[21] that the committee of which he was chairman was not disturbed when its conduct was misrepresented and its characters aspersed by the "enemies of truth and liberty." So convinced

---

[19] *Boston Gazette,* January 16, 1775; *Newport Mercury,* January 30, 1775.

[20] *Massachusetts Spy,* January 19, 1775.

[21] *Boston Gazette,* January 23, 1775; *Newport Mercury,* January 30, 1775.

were the members of the committee of the disinterestedness of their motives and conduct that they could safely "appeal to the omniscent Being for their Sincerity." Once again Rivington was pilloried when friends of the patriot cause were instructed to pay no attention to his "false and lying extracts."[22] His good faith was challenged; even he could not believe that the "Farmer of Pennsylvania" had deserted the colonial cause! And the canard that the "Suffolk Resolves" were approved by Congress after thirty-two bumpers of Madeira was said to betray the desperation of the Tories, and to reveal that they were not loathe to stoop to unblushing falsehood and base calumny. Within a month Rivington was again indicted for lying[23] inasmuch as he printed what he said was a handbill circulated in Boston, whereas it was unknown to anyone in that city till brought to their notice by his "faithful and immaculate Paper." Rivington however was pronounced quite harmless because "he had been detected in so many fibs, and so many gross slanders" of illustrious Americans.

A second apology for the "Tea Party," a curious specimen of mental legerdemain appeared in the form of an address to all freeborn Americans.[24] The argument is unusual, the conclusion still more astounding. Starting with the premise that if the agents had not opposed the Tea Act they would have evinced too little regard for the good of the country, and would have forsworn the sacred right of self-governance, the apologist concludes that "the good of their country was their sole incitement to this noble action." But since Scripture makes love of one's brother, and, *a fortiori,* love of one's country the test of "our having the fear of God before our eyes," it follows that in having the good of their country at heart they had "the fear of God there too."

An instance of skillful blending of political and religious appeal is to be found in the press account of the celebration of November 5 in Charleston, South Carolina.[25] On this occasion figures representative of Lord North, Governor Hutchinson, the Devil, and the Pope occupied the stage. After being paraded about the town during the day these associated plotters were burnt in the evening with seventy-five barrels of tar. At the same time a fantasy entitled "Dialogue between General Wolfe and General Gage in a Wood near Boston" ran the gamut of the

[22] *Ibid.,* January 30, 1775.
[23] *Ibid.,* February 27, 1775.
[24] *Massachusetts Spy,* February 2, 1775.
[25] *Newport Mercury,* January 23, 1775.

colonial press. In this necromantic discourse one of the generals avers that "popery and French laws in Canada" are but a part of the system of despotism which has been prepared for the colonies.

Difficulties were multiplying for Tories. Incapable of reasoning patriots out of their sentiments they were said[26] to be resorting to indirection and intimidation. But their intrigues were exposed and they were detested—"they bellow to the winds." Solomon Southwick, the enterprising publisher of the *Newport Mercury* apprised two British army officers[27] that Americans "are not such jack-asses as to be rid to death by such tyrants as you are stupidly endeavoring to mount upon their backs." And a query addressed to the same Southwick by R. Barclay[28] inquired how long it would be till popery is established in the colonies "with the hellish court of inquisition, to torture, roast, rack, and butcher, nonconforming protestants."

Uncertain times these were, for "A Watchman" saw in them[29] an opportunity for ministerial tyrants to threaten the people with total loss of their liberties, while the provincial congress of Massachusetts[30] besought the blessing of God "upon all the British Empire, upon GEORGE the third, our rightful KING, and upon all the Royal Family, that they may be great and lasting blessings to the world."

The evils endured by the colonies were already galling certain spirits with the result that tabulations of grievances were drawn up. One of these listed[31] the defrauding of the people of their money, the streets of our capital stained with innocent blood shed by military murderers, abridgment of liberty and subversion of the constitution, invasion by sea and land, our lives and property in jeopardy, our frontier menaced. "Does the English language afford words expressive of one half the hostile treatment, the cruel and unparalleled injuries, this colony has suffered within these few years past, from the parent state?"

With the situation growing daily more tense Boston's commemoration of the "massacre" became the occasion for whipping up the emotions. Joseph Warren occupied the pulpit of the Old South meeting-house; among his utterances was the following:

---

[26] *Pennsylvania Packet,* February 20, 1775.
[27] *Newport Mercury,* March 6, 1775.
[28] *Ibid.,* March 13, 1775.
[29] *Massachusetts Spy,* February 23, 1775.
[30] *Ibid.,* February 23, 1775.
[31] *Ibid.,* March 2, 1775.

Approach we then the melancholy walk of death. Hither let me call the gay companion, here let him drop a farewell tear upon that body which so late he saw vigorous and warm with social mirth—hither let me lead the tender mother to weep over her beloved son—come widowed mourner, here satiate thy grief; behold thy murdered husband gasping on the ground, and to complete the pompous show of wretchedness, bring in each hand thy infant children to bewail their father's fate—take heed ye infant babes, lest, whilst your streaming eyes are fixed upon the ghastly corpse, your feet slide on the stones bespattered with your father's brains.[32]

And who was responsible for this tragedy? Not France, not Spain, not the Savages; not even the demons from hell, but the arms of George our king![33]

The Tory rejoinder was a vigorous misrepresentation and travesty of the event in Rivington's paper.[34] A week earlier this journal had featured an article,[35] supposedly rejected by Boston editors, which divided the Sons of Liberty into poverty-stricken debauchees content with the basest means of securing a livelihood, and "ministers of the gospel, who, instead of preaching to their flocks meekness, sobriety, attention to their different employments, and a steady obedience to the laws of Britain, belch from the pulpit liberty, independence, and a steady perseverance in endeavoring to shake off their allegiance to the mother country." In fine independent ministers were declared to have been instigators and abettors of every persecution and conspiracy since the founding of the colony.

How readily any event lent itself to partial interpretation was revealed when a certain William French lost his life in an obscure riot.[36] His epitaph converted him into a hero and patriot:

> Here William French his Body lies,
> For Murder his Blood for Vengeance cries.
> King George the third his Tory crew
> the with a bawl his head Shot threw.
> For Liberty and his Country's Good,
> he Lost his Life his Dearest Blood.

Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the benefits

---

[32] Quoted by Philip G. Davidson in "Whig Propagandists of the Revolution," in *American Historical Review,* XXXIX, 443-444. Also *Massachusetts Spy,* March 17, 1775.

[33] *Ibid.,* March 17, 1775.

[34] Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution,* New York, 1860, I, 34-35.

[35] *Rivington's New York Gazeteer,* March 9, 1775; cf. Moore, I, 43-44.

[36] Moore, I, 51.

deriving from the protection of Great Britain were dismissed summarily with the remark "we owe her nothing."[37]

The war of words continued unabated. Tories on the one hand taunted patriots[38] with raving about liberty like a parrot in ignorance of its meaning, while being led by the nose by a Cooper or Adams. In addition they were said to make idols of liberty trees, newspapers, and congresses, and to be so engrossed with politics as to neglect their occupations, so that they could frequent taverns where they "get drunk, damn the King, Ministers and Taxes," and vow blind obedience to misguided and criminal demagogues. Patriots met the challenge with an account of the "savage barbarity" of the British troops in Boston,[39] abetted by their officers. Because of the "banditti of freebooters" let loose for the "laudable purposes of robberies, rapes and murders" it was scarcely safe to walk the streets at noonday. Barely tolerable in the past their insolence had grown of late because of their failure to realize the promises of their officers of "fine houses, rich plunder, and a thousand other gratifications."

Responsibility for firing first at Concord Bridge was laid at the doors of the British[40] and their losses on the ill-starred foray were fixed at one hundred and ninety buried in the country and a great number carried off and burnt on Bunker Hill by their comrades. By contrast on another occasion a communique reported "Our killed none! Wounded three!"[41] The deduction was inevitable that "Heaven apparently, and most evidently, fights for us, covers our heads in the day of battle, and shields our people from the assaults of the common enemies. What thanks can bespeak our gratitude!" In distant Virginia the people were assured that the British had fired on the colonials without provocation,[42] a charge attested by the committees of Worcester, Brookline, Norwich, New London, Lyme, Saybrook, Killingsworth, East Guilford, Guilford, Bradford, and New Haven.

Ridicule, scorn, nonsense, with a dash of ribaldry, featured "Tom Gage's Proclamation," a parody circulated widely in the colonial press.[43] In mock sympathy it was said that Gage might anticipate the honor of "Lord Lexington of Bunker's Hill,"[44] but

---

[37] *Massachusetts Spy,* March 9, 1775.
[38] *Rivington's New York Gazeteer,* March 9, 1775.
[39] Moore, I, 54-55.
[40] *Ibid.,* I, 68-69.
[41] *Ibid.,* I, 86.
[42] *Virginia Gazette,* April 29, 1775.
[43] *Pennsylvania Journal,* June 28, 1775; *Newport Mercury,* July 17, 1775.
[44] Moore, I, 176.

this distinction was deemed slight recompense for having been cooped up in Boston to "fatten on salt provisions and peas," without the comfort of a single successful sally to his credit. And "Massachusettensis" addressing[45] the "perfidious, the truce-breaking Thomas Gage" said it was a problem how to address "such a monster," for the reason that language suited to the occasion must be "shocking and truly humiliating to human nature." British soldiers were characterized as dupes of power, fighting merely for pay, while colonials were represented as engaged in a just cause, the defense of their liberty.[46] "Ignotus" opined that under Tories good government and liberty were as likely as "righteousness in the dominion of Satan,"[47] while "Philo-Patria" argued that in view of the justice of the cause and defensive character of the conflict continuance of divine blessings was assured.[48]

The extravagance of propaganda was revealed when Southwick's Newport paper carried a story[49] to the effect that even the birds favored the patriots. Martins, so it was stated, had nested for years under the roof of a certain house in Newport, but this spring, upon discovering that the owner was "incorrigible," they agreed not to come near a despot or "entertain him with their music," and so "with one voice" they quitted this house and flew away to the dwellings of the Sons of Liberty.

A crop of rumors favorable to the colonial cause was broadcast. Southwick "understood"[50] that his fellow printer, James Rivington, accompanied by Parson Cooper and other advocates of tyranny, had decamped and "taken passage for the land of slavery," and that the notorious "King Hooper" of Marblehead,[51] hitherto a staunch Tory, was now converted to the support of his country and so enthusiastic in support of the cause that he made a substantial gift of provisions to the provincial congress. The province of Georgia was said to be "almost universally on the right side" and on the point of choosing delegates to Congress; Tories were now no more.[52] Report had it that in a recent engagement near Boston the ministerial troops were totally defeated and General Gage taken prisoner.[53] Virginia learned that

[45] *Newport Mercury,* June 12, 1775.
[46] Moore, I, 106.
[47] *Boston Gazette,* August 28, 1775.
[48] *Ibid.,* September 11, 1775.
[49] *Newport Mercury,* June 19, 1775.
[50] *Ibid.,* May 8, 1775.
[51] *Ibid.,* May 15, 1775.
[52] *Pennsylvania Packet,* July 17, 1775.
[53] *Virginia Gazette,* July 29, 1775.

Cambridge had heard that General Carleton of Quebec was holding conferences with Indians as much as "1500 miles back of the city," and making attractive offers with a view to inducing them to take up arms against the English colonies.[54] A second communique from Boston enlarged on the low morale of the British forces cooped up in Boston.[55] Mortality was high; all the wounded and prisoners had succumbed. While the British attributed the death rate to poisoned musket balls used by the provincial troops, bad provisions and scurvy were advanced a "more probable and more charitable way" of accounting for the situation. If some of the officers still "talk high and big" the more sensible among them were disheartened. Common soldiers too were dispirited. Officers and men alike curse General Gage and the Tories. The informant believed that sickness would sweep off the whole force while the patriots looked on, carefully debarring fresh provisions. Still a third despatch from Cambridge[56] exhibited a broadside, designed for circulation among the British, which contrasted the lot of the soldier on Prospect Hill with that of his rival on Bunker's Hill. While "rotten pork" was the food of the latter, the former enjoyed "fresh provisions and in plenty." Moreover, slavery, beggary, and want awaited the British while the Americans could look forward to "freedom, ease, affluence, and a good farm."

Atrocity story, religious and humanitarian appeal were all mingled in the reported bombardment of a certain community by the sloop of war *Falcon,* Captain Linzee commanding.[57] This officer is represented as directing fire at "the damn'd Presbyterian church," encouraging the gunners with the observation: "Well, my brave fellows, one shot more and the house of God will fall before us." But while he was "venting his hellish rage and setting himself as it were against Heaven" the Almighty intervened in behalf of the righteous colonials inasmuch as no one was wounded although bullets went through their houses "when filled with women and children." Moralizing on the incident, the observer lamented the lost glory of England, whose army, until recently the terror of many nations, is now engaged in cutting the throats of loyal subjects and in stealing sheep. "Fellows indeed!" he concluded.

In early September "Charactacus" addressed General Bur-

[54] *Ibid.,* August 5, 1775.
[55] *Pennsylvania Packet,* August 14, 1775.
[56] *Ibid.,* August 14, 1775.
[57] *Ibid.,* August 28, 1775.

goyne[58] indignantly rejecting the charge that the colonies aimed at independence even though the sovereign had established popery and arbitrary power over the greatest part of the continent and torn up charters. At the same time he exulted over the fact that an "army of poltroons" armed with nothing but rusty firelocks and broomsticks had confined 10,000 British soldiers, officered by three of their most experienced generals, to a few acres of ground and subjected them to a siege. Moreover, France and Spain he declared ready to open their ports and render every service should the Americans request it. Under no illusion as to the attitude of these nations towards freedom and protestantism, he believed that slavery, if inescapable, was more acceptable when imposed by an old enemy than by an old friend.

The *Virginia Gazette* announced[59] that in reprisal for the loss of a tender a British captain had preyed on small craft and fishing boats. Like ancient Gaul Gage's army was said to be divided into three parts,[60] "the first company is under ground; the second is above ground; the third is in the hospital; and the general received orders from home for the second and third companies to follow the first." Ostensibly on British authority *Holt's Journal* gave out the information[61] that transports were about to be chartered to convey "inferior rebels" to the East Indies for the company's service, capital sentence being reserved for ringleaders. "The best intelligence"[62] vouched for the loyalty of the western Indians to the colonies; Carleton's intrigues were doomed to failure since only one tribe was disaffected, and it was powerless in face of general good will and sympathy. But the bugbear of a Canadian papist menace would not down so readily. Insistence was made[63] that fifteen thousand stands of arms had been shipped from the Tower to Quebec to arm the Roman Catholics of that province. Similarly "ragamuffin Tories" in Boston were said to be forming a regiment,[64] but with "that four-eyed Morgan, the fiddler," as adjutant this force was deemed negligible.

When Bristol was bombarded for failure to supply sheep and fat cattle to a small British squadron, the *New York Gazette*[65] seized upon the occasion to stress British insensibility to human

---

[58] September 2, 1775.
[59] Moore, I, 139.
[60] *Constitutional Gazette,* October 11, 1775.
[61] *Holt's Journal,* October 19, 1775.
[62] *Virginia Gazette,* September 16, 1775.
[63] *Pennsylvania Packet,* October 9, 1775.
[64] *Virginia Gazette,* October 14, 1775.
[65] *New York Gazette,* October 23, 1775, quoted by Moore, I, 150.

woes. There was strong appeal in the observation that "the shrieks of the women, the cries of the children, the groans of the sick, would have extorted a tear from even the eye of a Nero." Had the nadir of wickedness been attained? No, not yet, for in the April following someone was to discover that the king was "Nerone, Neronior."[66]

Late in November Philadelphia was informed[67] that by order of General Howe the pulpit and pews had been removed from the venerable Old South meeting-house in Boston, and the edifice converted into a riding school. By mid-December Howe was furthermore charged[68] with razing the Old North, Boston's pioneer place of worship. This, in conjunction with the conversion of another meeting-house into a barracks, and a third into a riding school, was said to reveal the attitude of the regulars towards buildings devoted to religion. History afforded no such instance of desecration, for such action was contrary to the practice of nations; and since the very heathen held such places sacred their recent conduct bespoke the degeneracy of the sons of Britain.

On this assumption the *New England Chronicle* voiced an ardent entreaty[69] that regardless of private interests and personal loss men should answer the call of their country. Never was a cause more glorious, for not only wives and children, but humanity at large, were involved in the outcome of this last stand of liberty. Such savagery as the burning of Falmouth betrayed the spiritual bankruptcy of the British court, intent on applying fire and sword to "butcher and destroy, beggar and enslave" the whole of America. Right here was justification for breaking off all connection with Britain and forming a republic of American United Colonies. Another patriot, writing from the camp at Cambridge, reminded American soldiers[70] that they were engaged in the cause of virtue, liberty, and God. "For God's sake then," he urged, "let us play the man; for God's sake let us neglect no requisite precautions to frustrate the cruel attempts of our remorseless foes."

With the fires of controversy raging furiously fuel was added in "A Picture of a Certain Nation."[71] Over this people ruled a prince encumbered with a numerous progeny. His treasury is empty and he is at variance with his brothers; his army is

[66] *Newport Mercury,* April 29, 1776.
[67] *Pennsylvania Journal,* November 29, 1775; cf. Moore, I, 168.
[68] *Constitutional Gazette,* December 16, 1775; cf. Moore, I, 182.
[69] *New England Chronicle,* November 23, 1775.
[70] *Virginia Gazette,* December 23, 1775.
[71] *Ibid.,* January 13, 1776.

ruined, his navy worm-eaten and unmanned; his nobles are debauched and their womenfolk devoid of virtue; his churches are deserted but his gaols are full; his poor are starving while his colonies in America have overcome those sent to tax them, and consequently they despise his power and threats. On the heels of this diatribe came an extended list of things to be remembered.[72] Thirty-seven in number, and ranging from massacres and burnings to bombardment and the hiring of mercenaries and savages, this catalogue was designed to keep green the memory of British injustice and cruelty.

At this juncture "Salus Populi" proclaimed[73] that "every prospect of the future strongly invites us to embrace independency." Even more compelling was the circumstance that for twenty years past every occurrence seemed providentially designed to this end. The last war, for example, had trained many in the use of arms and taught them to look steadfastly into the face of an enemy. In confirmation of this view the *New York Packet*[74] disposed of objections to independence and marshalled arguments in favor of this conclusive step. Ridicule too was enlisted when the colonies were compared to "great lounging infants tied to mamma's apron at two and twenty, with long bibs and pap-spoons." To desert so glorious a cause and so enticing a prospect would be "heretical, damnable and abominable, even to a sensible Pope." Plainly independence was not merely suggested, it was enjoined.

The colonies were drifting rapidly, and the direction of the drift was unmistakable. The time was ripe for Paine's "Common Sense." It was hailed[75] as a "wonderful production," "calculated on the meridian of North America"; it was lauded for endorsing a new system of politics as different from the old as the Copernican system from the Ptolomaic. Born of the blood spilt at Lexington it was said to dispel prejudices against independence, and to pour out such a flood of "light and truth" as to effect instant change in the sentiments and views of America. Read with delight, and easily absorbed, it thrilled the mind with the idea of separation from England. Because of it the seeds of independence "grow surprisingly" so that despite ties of affection, connection will be dissolved, and the Gordian knot will be cut. That this was no exaggeration was shown when George Washington

---

[72] *Boston Gazette,* April 3, 1776.
[73] *Pennsylvania Journal,* February 14, 1776.
[74] *New York Packet,* April 3, 1776.
[75] *Constitutional Gazette,* February 24, 1776; Moore, I, 208-209.

commented on "the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense.' "[76]

With feelings becoming daily more embittered a hero was made of Colonel Allen.[77] Although captured by the British as he fought for "life, liberty and property," he was treated as a villain, loaded with chains, transported to England, and confined in a loathsome jail. And all this was done in sharpest contrast to America's treatment of Colonel Prescott, who in spite of being active in the service of tyrants was lodged in a first-rate tavern in Philadelphia and supplied with the best that the markets could offer. "O George! who are the savages? After that can anyone blame the Americans if they retaliate?"

Under these stimuli the common man was spurred to action. Upon enlisting one of them, characterized as an "honest, sensible, spirited farmer," gave expression to his convictions.[78] America was guiltless. She had not begun the quarrel; she sought no new privileges; she did not plot with Bourbons or Stuarts; she did not take up arms with sinister design. On the contrary she merely asserted her rights and asked for justice; she suffered the indignity of the introduction of an armed force to dragoon her into submission; she lifted the sword only in self-defense after hostilities had been begun. Consequently history would lay all guilt at the doorsteps of the king, ministers, and parliament; moreover future generations, and the great Judge of mankind, will condemn them. For these reasons the soldier conceived himself as taking up arms "in defense of innocence, justice, truth, honesty, honor, liberty, property and life; and in opposition to guilt, injustice, falsehood, dishonesty, ignominy, slavery, poverty and death."

Dangerous feelings found expression when "Queries addressed to sound Heads and honest Hearts"[79] raised the issue of whether a king who resorted to burnings and the use of foreign troops and savages is a legal sovereign or a tyrant, and whether he does not forfeit the allegiance of his subjects by such conduct. It was evident that such a prince had outdone Nero! In Virginia arguments in favor of independence multiplied in the press.[80] And a lengthy communication from North Carolina to the edi-

---

[76] William B. Read, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Read,* Philadelphia, 1847, I, 48.

[77] *New England Gazette,* April 4, 1776; Moore, I, 226.

[78] *Boston Gazette,* March 25, 1776.

[79] *Newport Mercury,* April 29, 1776.

[80] *Virginia Gazette,* May 25, 1776.

tors of the *Virginia Gazette*[81] insisted on unity, the spirit of sacrifice, and quick response to the call to arms. Actions should speak to the enemy; the conduct of all should be such that posterity will acclaim the "glorious deliverers of their country from British tyranny and oppression." Just a week before independence was officially determined upon, "Armatus" charged Britain with determination to use her whole strength—fleets, armies, fraud—to effect the destruction of America.[82] A blood-thirsty king, he declared, is ready to invite German mercenaries, Canadians, savages, Negroes, and Tories to share in the carnage. And this is no idle dream but stark reality. Death awaits those who fall into British hands, for her king, like another, would sacrifice Naboth to possess the vineyard he coveted.[83]

When a goodly number of people entertained such sentiments and dared to express them in the press a crisis was at hand. Treason or independence loomed. Official separation from the parent state could not be delayed. And the Declaration of Independence which followed was keyed to the times; unquestionably it takes first place among the propaganda documents issued by the Continental Congress.

In this study of propaganda activity during the two years previous to the official severance of political ties many examples have been given, and others could readily be added, to show that colonial patriots were not ignorant of the value of propaganda nor unskilled in its use. In converting others to their point of view and inducing them to pursue a chosen course of action they were persistent and resourceful. In the main their efforts have a directness and forcefulness that must have been effective even if they lacked the subtelty and finesse of the modern agitator. If the Whig editors "kindled the Spirit" equal to defeating the designs of Britain, as one of their number boasted,[84] they did so in collaboration with a host of unnamed and unknown assistants whose early apprenticeship qualified them for distinguished service

---

[81] *Ibid.*, May 4, 1776.

[82] *Boston Gazette,* June 24, 1776.

[83] In time the voice of Franklin in distant Passy would join the chorus charging Britain with atrocities. In a letter to David Hartley he enlarged upon her crimes, her prosecution of the war, her treatment of prisoners, her bribing of slaves to murder and massacre, and her debauching of honest seamen. Such was her depravity, proven beyond doubt, that we can never again entrust her the management of our affairs and interests. Albert H. Smyth, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* New York, 1905-1907, VII, 69, No. 855.

[84] John *Holt's New York Journal* cited by Sidney I. Pomerantz in "The Patriot Newspaper and the American Revolution," Richard B. Morris, ed., *The Era of the American Revolution,* New York, 1937, 306.

during the years of physical conflict. Actual warfare would open up new outlets for propaganda, such as mistreatment of prisoners and civilians, and misuse of flags, but the success of the agitation for independence would be an incentive to winning new laurels.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico*

Introduction

The reconquest and refounding of New Mexico by the Spaniards in the last decade of the seventeenth century, annually celebrated at Santa Fe since the year 1712 to this day, is one of the most important chapters in the history of the Spanish Southwest. New Mexico had been conquered and settled by Spain in 1598, and the colony flourished for the best part of a century. During that time the region witnessed a veritable Golden Age of Franciscan missionary labors, and Spanish institutions, to all appearances, had been permanently established there. But in the great Pueblo Indian uprising of 1680 all was lost. The New Mexican colonists were compelled to abandon the region, and thereby at a single stroke the northern frontier of New Spain was thrust back a distance of over three hundred miles toward Old Mexico. For twelve years the Indians held New Mexico as their own. But finally, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, from El Paso as a base, the region was reconquered by Spanish arms and New Mexican society was reconstituted. The first permanent European settlements in the region date from the reconquest, and it may be said that the real beginnings of Spanish society in what is now the state of New Mexico date from that time.

The groundwork for a serious study of the reconquest of New Mexico was laid fifty years ago by H. H. Bancroft in his *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. His basic original source was the Santa Fe Archive, which, to use his own words, "though valuable . . . is very imperfect, fragmentary, and utterly inadequate to the forming of a complete record of the country's annals in any phase."[1] His source of information was indeed inadequate, yet all later published accounts relied heavily on Bancroft. This was true in the case of Read, Coan, Twitchell, and others. Twitchell expanded on Bancroft in his treatment of the reconquest story, but his sources were essentially the same: the badly damaged and in-

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Omaha, May 3, 1940.

[1] A complete description of Bancroft's sources may be found in his *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, San Francisco, 1889, 19-20, 197.

complete Santa Fe Archive.[2] As a result of these early accounts a few general facts of the story are well known. But since none of these authors had access to the extensive and all-important documentary materials from the archives of Spain and Mexico which are now available to students of New Mexico history, their pioneer efforts, which represent the piecing together of scattered fragments, lack a solid basis for serious evaluation of the facts involved. We must keep in mind, however, that these men did the best they could with the materials which they had at hand, and they gave us many important clues.

In fact, only during the last ten years have we been able to improve on Bancroft in this particular phase of New Mexico history. Much of the story is just now being written for the first time. And so, to cite a glaring example, it is not surprising to learn that the biographical sketch of the leader of the reconquest of New Mexico which was published in the *Dictionary of American Biography* in 1930, when there was very little evidence at hand (and which unfortunately has not been revised), would have been a disgrace to American historical scholarship if it had been written in the same form two years later, by which time adequate documents were available and waiting to be used. Most of the mass of new material uncovered in recent years, the result of constant rummaging in foreign archives, is now available in this country in photostatic form in the Library of Congress and the Coronado Library of the University of New Mexico. The use of these documents has made possible the present essay.[3]

---

[2] The documents preserved in the Santa Fe Archive proper, and those in the General Land Office in Santa Fe, are listed and fully described in his *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico,* 2v., Cedar Rapids, 1914. Twitchell edited and published translations of a few of the documents preserved in the Santa Fe Archives in his *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History,* 5v., Cedar Rapids, 1911-1914, *Old Santa Fe, The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital,* Santa Fe, 1925, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico,* and in the magazine *Old Santa Fe* under the following titles: "The Reconquest of New Mexico, 1691-1692. Extracts from the Journal of General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon," I (1914), 288-307, 420-435; "The Justification of Don Diego de Vargas," I (1914), 57-65; "The Last Campaign of General Vargas, 1704," I (1914), 66-72; and "The Pueblo Revolt of 1696," III (1916), 333-373. Unfortunately, these translations are full of minor inaccuracies. F. W. Hodge translated and edited "French Intrusion toward New Mexico in 1695," *New Mexico Historical Review,* IV (1929), 72-76.

A section of Vargas' original journal, formerly a part of the Santa Fe Archives, along with translations of other reconquest documents from the same source (made by Judge Samuel Ellison), were recently acquired by the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, from the estate of William G. Ritch, governor *ad interim* of New Mexico in 1875. These documents now constitute a part of the *Ritch Collection,* Huntington Library.

[3] Herbert E. Bolton, who among twentieth-century professional historians pioneered in the exploration of the Mexican archives, uncovered

Don Diego de Vargas, the Reconqueror

The bold Castilian nobleman Don Diego de Vargas was the hero of the reconquest of New Mexico. Let us consider for a moment the remarkable background of this "Hernán Cortés of these times," to quote the words of one of his contemporaries. Without exaggeration it may be said that no Spaniard ever set foot on the soil of our Spanish borderlands who could claim a lineage more illustrious than that of the reconqueror of New Mexico. The lineages of Coronado and Oñate, the two other members of New Mexico's triumvirate of conquerors, hardly bear comparison.[4]

---

important reconquest materials there which are catalogued in his *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico,* Washington, D. C., 1913. At the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, in Mexico City, Bolton obtained copies of *Provincias Internas,* tomo 35, and *Historia,* tomos 37, 38, and 39, typed in triplicate. One set of these transcripts forms a part of the *Bolton Collection,* in the Bancroft Library, University of California, the second set was deposited in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and the third set was turned over to Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas.

As a result of investigations in the Spanish archives, Otto Maas, O. F. M., published *Misiones de Nuevo Méjico. Documentos del Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla) publicadas por primera vez y anotadas,* Madrid, 1929, in which some Vargas documents appear, and in which was published the table of contents of the Villagutierre manuscript mentioned below. Irving A. Leonard edited and translated *The Mercurio Volante of Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora,* Quivira Society, III, Los Angeles, 1932. In his introduction and notes Leonard made good use of the new material that was being uncovered in Spain and Mexico. About ten years ago photographs of the following pertinent documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, respectively, were obtained by the Library of Congress: *Audiencia de Guadalajara,* legajos 138-142, and Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, *Historia de la conquista, pérdida y restauración de el reyno y provincias de la Nueba Mexico en la America septentrional,* c. 1704, MS., over 890 folio pages in length. Lists of pertinent material in the *Sección de Contaduría,* Archivo General de Indias, may also be found in the Library of Congress. During the last few years the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, has obtained photostatic copies of the all-important *Historia* series (Archivo General y Público de la Nación, Mexico City), and *Audiencia de Guadalajara* series (Archivo General de Indias), as well as films and photographs of other related documents from Spain and Mexico.

[4] The family genealogy was elaborately worked out and published by the reconqueror's grandson, Don Diego José López de Zárate Vargas Pimentel Zapata y Luján Ponce de León Cepeda Alvarez Contreras y Salinas, Marqués de Villanueva de la Sagra, y de la Nava de Barcinas, in a work in two parts entitled *Breve descripción genealogica de la ilustre quanto antiquissima casa de los Vargas de Madrid . . .,* Madrid, 1740. The following material on the lineage of Diego de Vargas, for the most part from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, was made available to the author through the courtesy of the Spanish historian José Pérez Balsera, a corelative of Vargas. Some of this material, including facsimiles of important documents, was published by Balsera in his *Laudemus viros gloriosos et parentes nostros en generatione sua,* Madrid, 1931. See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Notes on the Lineage of Don Diego de Vargas, Reconqueror of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review,* X (1935), 112-120.

The Vargas family of Madrid, the one out of which the reconqueror was born, sent forth some of the most distinguished figures in the annals of Spain. Don Diego descended in direct male line from the eldest of the three Vargas brothers who served under King Alfonso VI in the conquest of Madrid and Toledo in the years 1080 and 1083. Other Vargases equalled the valor of the three brothers by memorable deeds in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and at Jerez. Of this same family was the knight Juan de Vargas, wealthy landowner of Madrid at the turn of the eleventh century, the master of San Isidro Labrador, patron saint of Madrid. Then there was Garci Pérez de Vargas, that famous captain who played such an important part in the capture of Seville in 1248 that his name was engraved in marble on an inscription which may still be seen on one of the gateways to that city. It reads: "Hercules built me—Julius Caesar surrounded me with great walls and towers—and the saint king [Saint Ferdinand] conquered me—with Garci Pérez de Vargas."

Don Diego's paternal grandfather was Don Lorenzo de Vargas Zapata, knight of the Order of Santiago, who fought in Italy as an officer in the Spanish army for fifty years. Don Lorenzo's father, captain of infantry for a long time under Philip II and Philip III, was also a knight of the Order of Santiago, and his grandfather served as procurator of the famous military order.

Among the contemporary relatives of Don Lorenzo's paternal grandfather, and those of the generation just preceding, there was a host of renowned Vargases. One Don Francisco de Vargas was held in such confidence as a councilor of the Catholic kings and Charles V, that the statement "Averígüelo Vargas," or "Ask Vargas," came to be a popular saying, and even the title of a play by the dramatist Tirso de Molina.[5] In 1520 he served as governor of the kingdom during one of the emperor's sojourns in Germany. He owned much property in Madrid, including the vast grounds of the Casa de Campo across the Manzanares River from the royal palace. These grounds were later purchased by the king as a country estate, and when Philip II was asked one time at court why he did not remove the Vargas coat of arms

---

Through Balsera the author also learned of the existence and obtained a copy of a contemporary full-length portrait of Diego de Vargas, the only one known to exist. See the *Santa Fe New Mexican,* Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 1, 1934. This was before the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939; since that time the original portrait has been lost.

[5] For a good discussion of the origin of the term "Averígüelo Vargas," see the *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, Europeo-Americana,* Espasa-Calpe, LXVII, 2-3, and Julio Cejador y Frauca, ed., *Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor,* 2v., Madrid, 1913, I, 91-92, note 239.

from the house there, he answered: "Leave them, for those of such loyal vassals look well on the royal house." Don Gutierre de Vargas, Bishop of Plasencia, was Don Francisco's son. Then there was the licentiate Francisco de Vargas, Spanish ambassador to Rome and Venice respectively. He was one of the two principal lay doctors at the Council of Trent.

The reconqueror's paternal grandmother, Doña Antonia de Cepeda Venegas Ponce de León, wife of Don Lorenzo de Vargas Zapata Luján, was of ancestry as distinguished as that of her husband. She was the daughter of Captain Don Alonzo Sánchez de Cepeda, of Granada, and Doña Juana Venegas Ponce de León, of Bogotá. Don Alonzo, of the Orders of Calatrava and Santiago, was at that time governor and captain general of New Granada. Through her father, Doña Antonia was a second cousin of Santa Teresa de Jesús, the celebrated religious and literary figure of Spain's Golden Age. On her mother's side Doña Antonia's ancestors came to America with the first conquerors. Her great-grandfather, Don Pedro Ponce de León, was governor of Venezuela from 1565 to 1569. His daughter Juana married Marshal Hernán de Venegas, a Cordovan who had come to the New World with the men of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Venegas was one of the leaders in the conquest of the Chibchas, and was a prominent leader in New Granada. He is buried in the cathedral at Bogotá. His daughter Doña Juana was Doña Antonia's mother.

The reconqueror was son and heir of Captain Alonso de Vargas Zapata y Luján, knight of the Order of Santiago, and Doña María Margarita de Contreras y Arraiz, both of whom possessed many landed estates and ample fortunes. In his youth Don Alonso served for eight years as a noble page to the queen, and later became a soldier, in the footsteps of many of his ancestors. After serving for some time in Spain as captain of cavalry in the royal service, Don Alonso came to America, where he served his government and where he died. Besides his military and diplomatic services he was a man of some intellectual attainments, and on his death he left written some twenty volumes of general information of the period.

Young Vargas could add little to the luster of the family name; and his vast estate, the accumulation of centuries, included extensive revenues, and properties which are still landmarks in Madrid, throughout Castile, and in Granada. This was the house of Vargas.

The reconqueror was baptized at Madrid on November 8,

1643, his full baptismal name being Diego José de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras. On May 5, 1664, he married the wealthy Doña Beatriz Pimentel de Prado, of Torrelaguna. In the following year was born their only child, a daughter, María Isabel. But life in Charles the Second's rapidly declining Spanish kingdom was apparently too uneventful for Vargas. He was drawn irresistably by the exotic attraction, the adventure, and the opportunities which Spain's vast empire in America offered; where many of his ancestors had won glory and renown. In the summer of 1672, Vargas, alone, was making preparations to sail for America. He had been appointed as a special courier of the king to carry dispatches to the viceroy of New Spain.[6]

Although we have little evidence regarding his public life in America prior to 1679, a phase of Don Diego's private life is revealed by the fact that sometime between the years 1673 and 1679 he contracted an illicit marriage in New Spain; on his death-bed in 1704 he declared as his children ". . . although not by legitimate wife, Don Juan Manuel de Vargas of the age of twenty-four years, and Don Alonzo de Vargas of the age of twenty-three years, and their sister Doña María Theresa who is with her mother in the city of Mexico, of the age of nineteen years . . ."[7]

A few scattered facts have been found concerning Vargas' life during the next decade. In January 1679 he was serving as *alcalde mayor* of the pueblo of Teutila, and he had apparently been in the royal service for some time, because when he was transferred to Talpujagua in that year he was described by the viceroy as "a person of complete integrity, experience and intelligence."[8] In May 1679 Vargas took over the duties of *justicia mayor* of the mining camp of Talpujagua, in the rich quicksilver section of Michoacán.[9] Always his services were described with high praise. In July 1684 he was continued in the office by the viceroy, Conde de Paredes, with the new title *alcalde mayor,*

---

[6] See Lansing B. Bloom, "Notes and Comments," *New Mexico Historical Review,* X (1935), 170.

[7] Twitchell, *Spanish Archives,* I, 304.

[8] The Count of Paredes, viceroy of New Spain, to the king, Mexico City, April 3, 1685. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereinafter cited as A. G. I.), *Audiencia de Guadalajara,* legajo 141. See also, Vargas to the Count of Montezuma, Viceroy of New Spain, Santa Fe, April 29, 1697, *ibid.*

According to an anonymous eighteenth-century document, Vargas took over the post at Teutila in the year 1673. See Lansing B. Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *New Mexico Historical Review,* XIV (1939), 375, note 22.

[9] The viceroy to the king, Mexico City, April 3, 1685, and Vargas to the viceroy, Santa Fe, April 29, 1697, A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 141.

"because I recognized in him a subject fitted for the post and very necessary for the development of these mines . . . through whose activity this mining camp has taken on new vigor, although when he took over it was in its last stages of deterioration."[10] In a letter to the king dated April 3, 1685, the viceroy wrote, "Keeping in mind the notorious quality and blood of Don Diego de Vargas, his many and visible merits, and since it has been recommended by your Majesty that he be given duties in your Royal Service, I have continued him, and shall continue him in the position at Talpujagua until your Majesty deigns to employ him in other higher posts in keeping with his illustrious blood, for I find him very capable. . . ."[11] Vargas also served as administrator of the royal quicksilver supply *(juez repartidor),* at the mining camp of Talpujagua.[12]

On June 18, 1688, the king appointed him governor and captain general of New Mexico for five years. This post presented a real opportunity, for these were critical years on the New Mexico frontier. The king and the viceroy had been urging the reconquest of the lost province ever since its abandonment. Attempts had been made by Vargas' predecessors, but all had failed.

The Eve of the Reconquest

Vargas took possession of the government at El Paso on February 22, 1691. Imbued with enthusiasm and visions of glory and renown to be won in the north, he offered to reconquer the lost province immediately and at his own expense. However, he soon discovered that the soldiers of the presidio were without sufficient arms and horses; and the inhabitants of the El Paso settlements were fighting against starvation and facing the constant threat of hostile Indian raids.

Other factors helped shatter Vargas' plans. The government of New Spain was at this time concerned with the more pressing question of putting down Indian uprisings in New Vizcaya, Sonora, and Sinaloa. Vargas made every effort to keep from being drawn into these wars. For a moment there seemed to be some hope that this would be the case, for a courier arrived unexpectedly at El Paso with orders from the viceroy to investigate

---

[10] Vargas to the Count of Montezuma, Viceroy of New Spain, Santa Fe, November 28, 1696, A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 141.

[11] *Ibid.* Vargas was recommended to the Viceroy of New Spain by King Charles II in a royal cédula of February 16, 1683, and thenceforward was given special consideration by all the viceroys.

[12] Vargas to the viceroy, Santa Fe, April 29, 1697, *op. cit.*

the reported quicksilver mine in the Sierra Azul, west of the Hopi pueblos. The story was not new. It was based on old frontier tales which dated from the days of the search for Cíbola and Quivira; a vain hope which continued to haunt the royal authorities.[13] Vargas attempted to arouse sufficient interest in the revived story to convince the viceroy of the desirability of an immediate expedition into New Mexico. Information on the subject was obtained from former residents of the northern province and sent immediately to the authorities in Mexico City. But in the meantime instructions arrived ordering him to go directly to the aid of Sonora and Sinaloa.

In the campaign against the hostile Indians of the outlying frontiers of Sonora and Sinaloa, offensive warfare was carried out against the Pimas, Jocomes, Mansos, Janos, and the Apaches of Chilmo and the Sierra de Gila. Vargas personally led the united forces enlisted from the garrisons of El Paso, Sonora, and Sinaloa. On this remarkable expedition he claimed to have discovered over one hundred and fifty leagues of *terra incognita.* The trails, watering places, and eating places of the remote frontier tribes of the Sobaipujares were "discovered" and reconnoitered. The round trip distance from El Paso to these distant regions was recorded as being over four hundred and eighty leagues.[14]

This campaign over, the favorable time for the reconquest was finally at hand. By the end of November 1691 the Indian disturbances in Sonora and Sinaloa had quieted down, and the government of New Spain now focused its attention upon the reconquest of New Mexico. Meanwhile, Vargas continually emphasized the possibilities of Sierra Azul, in an effort to keep the whole question of the reconquest alive in Mexico City, at a time when the viceroy was faced with many other important problems of defense, not to mention economic instability and social unrest. Sallies against the Apaches and the suppression of a Manso uprising did not interfere with Vargas' preparations. But since he found difficulty in recruiting volunteers, he wrote to the viceroy that fifty additional soldiers were essential. With this exception

[13] See J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Legend of Sierra Azul, with special emphasis upon the part it played in the reconquest of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review,* IX (1934), 113-158.

[14] Vargas to the viceroy, Santa Fe, November 28, 1696, *op. cit.* During his first days at El Paso, Vargas received letters from the Jesuit missionaries at Chínapa asking for help to pacify the hostile tribes in Sonora and Sinaloa that were harassing the missions. These were followed by similar requests from Juan Fernández de la Fuente, captain of the presidio at Janos. This expedition was the outcome. Maas, *op. cit.,* 123-133.

Vargas insisted that the undertaking should be at his own expense. On May 28, 1692, all his demands were granted by the Royal Junta in Mexico City.[15]

Vargas planned two entries into the north: first a preliminary visit in order to learn the state of affairs there, to reduce and conquer the apostate rebels by force of arms if necessary, and to verify the reports of quicksilver mines in the Sierra Azul. This was to be followed by a carefully organized colonizing expedition whereby, with additional soldiers, settlers, and missionaries, the former Spanish settlements and missions in New Mexico would be completely reestablished.

The preliminary military expedition into New Mexico in 1692 was a complete success, although the small force came very near to being annihilated at Santa Fe, at Jémez, and at the Hopi pueblos. There the Spaniards were outnumbered ten to one by enemy warriors who were at first eager to engage in battle. But in each case Vargas' bold diplomacy and the exhortations of the missionaries saved the day. In the four months' campaign twenty-three pueblos of ten Indian tribes were "restored" to Spain's empire in America, without wasting a single *maravedí.* Not a drop of enemy blood was shed, except in the conflicts with the Apaches. Seventy-four persons in captivity were set free, among them many Spaniards; and 2,214 Indians, mostly children, were baptized by the missionaries. Vargas estimated that during the course of his expedition he had traveled, all told, over six hundred leagues. Everywhere, despite the charred ruins of homes and churches, the Spanish language although temporarily dormant was still alive among the Pueblo Indians. During the reconquest there were numerous cases of negotiations carried on with native leaders in the Spanish language through both the spoken and written word. Further evidence of the culture that radiated from each former mission center may be gleaned from the list of the books recovered at Zuñi. Among the seventeen books, both religious and profane, which had been the property of the missionary stationed there at the time of the uprising, were the works of Santa Teresa de Jesús and Quevedo.[16]

But New Mexican submission was as yet a formality, as no Spaniards had remained in the north. Vargas now made prepara-

---

[15] J. Manuel Espinosa, trans. and ed., "Report Authorizing Governor Vargas to Reconquer New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review,* XIV (1939), 76-81.

[16] Vargas' journal, Zuñi, November 11, 1692. The Santa Fe Archive, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 139.

tions for the expedition which would seal permanently the victory for Spain.

The Reconquest of New Mexico

When the glad tidings of a successful campaign and the impending restoration of all New Mexico were received in Mexico City, the occasion was one for great rejoicing. Bells were rung in the capital, and the viceroy officially thanked the governor of New Mexico for his services and promised everything necessary for the permanent preservation of that which had been regained. In order to record the recent triumph of Spanish arms, and incidentally to arouse interest in the impending colonizing expedition, the viceroy ordered the publication and distribution of an official pamphlet telling of the remarkable feat. Thus in the summer of 1693 the *Mercurio Volante,* by Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, appeared in Mexico City. The pamphlet had a wide circulation both in Mexico and Spain.[17]

By viceregal decree Vargas now was granted the right to solicit colonists and enlist one hundred soldiers for the establishment of a presidio at Santa Fe, wherever and in whatever manner might be most convenient. Forty thousand pesos were set aside at the treasuries of Durango, Zacatecas, and Sombrerete to help finance the enterprise, and he was empowered to draw additional sums if he should deem it necessary. Instructions were sent to the governor of New Vizcaya to aid Vargas in every way possible. The viceroy promised to send additional missionaries and a number of volunteer families from Mexico City.[18] Since there was a total of only one hundred and twelve households in the five settlements of the El Paso district, all of them in a miserable economic state, Vargas traveled great distances throughout New Vizcaya and New Galicia in search of additional recruits.[19]

Finally the expedition was ready. It consisted of one hundred soldiers, over eight hundred settlers, eighteen Franciscan friars, and a number of Indian allies. The lusty band was accompanied by nine hundred head of livestock, over two thousand horses, and

---

[17] See Leonard, trans. and ed., *The Mercurio Volante, op. cit.,* introduction.

[18] Viceregal decree, Mexico City, February 25, 1693, Archivo General y Público de la Nación (hereinafter cited as A. G. N.), Mexico City, *Historia,* tomo 38.

[19] Census of the El Paso District, taken December 22 to January 3, 1693, A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 139.

one thousand mules. The main body of the expedition set out for Santa Fe on October 4, 1693, amid great pomp and ceremony. Marching to the strains of martial music, two squads of ten soldiers each led the way. All those who were able to traveled on horseback; the others crowded into twelve mule- and horse-drawn wagons, which had been outfitted at Parral. Six wagons and eighty mules were employed in the transportation of the supplies, and three cannon were carried in three small carts. On October 13, Vargas and the *cabildo,* escorted by two squads of "leather-jackets," took final leave of El Paso.

Upon entering the Pueblo country the Spaniards learned that the natives, despite their promises of 1692, were again in rebellion and were ready to resist them. As the expedition advanced toward Santa Fe the faithful Indian governor of Pecos hastened to warn Vargas that with the exception of Pecos, Santa Ana, Sia, and San Felipe, all the tribes were prepared for battle. Undaunted, Vargas climbed the steep mountain trail of La Bajada and descended into the valley of Santa Fe. For two weeks the Spaniards camped outside the gates of the hostile city of Santa Fe, virtually without shelter, while twenty-two of their number died of exposure and were buried under the winter snow. When the demand to abandon the city was answered by the natives with blasphemy and war cries, Vargas stormed and won the heavily fortified stronghold with the loss of only one soldier. After the battle, with characteristic sternness, Vargas had seventy of the enemy leaders executed, an act which aroused misgivings among the remaining pueblos.[20]

As the year 1694 opened, the eleven hundred Spanish colonists were safely established within the walls of Santa Fe. But for the time being it was like being stranded on a barren island, for all the surrounding tribes were hostile. Among twenty-odd pueblos, only four were the allies of the Spaniards, faithful to their promises of 1692. The natives of nearly all the other pueblos had barricaded themselves on the mesas and on the rims of the canyons. Those of Santo Domingo and Jémez were on the mesas near their respective pueblos, the other Keres on the mesa of La Cieneguilla de Cochití, most of the Tanos and Teguas (the most formidable group) on the mesa of San Ildefonso, some in nearby canyons, and the Picuríes and Taos in their original pueblos.

---

[20] See J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Recapture of Santa Fe, New Mexico, by the Spaniards—December 29-30, 1693," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* XIX (1939), 443-463.

Obviously Vargas' great task was to break down a feeling of suspicion and distrust on the part of the natives, who feared punishment for the crimes of 1680. Furthermore, most of the older Indian leaders were determined to retain their ancient way of life, which the Spaniards aimed to stamp out. The year was characterized by constant warfare. This prevented the people from planting their fields, so they still depended on what they were able to seize from the enemy, and what little was sent up from Mexico. The grain shortage was critical. Vargas, with the aid of the missionaries, spent months pleading with the natives to submit peacefully, and only after all such efforts failed did he embark upon a bloody and protracted military offensive.

On April 17, the mesa of La Cieneguilla de Cochití was taken by assault with the aid of loyal Indian allies. Considerable grain and livestock were captured. Toward the end of June, Father Francisco Farfán arrived at Santa Fe with a colony of sixty-six families from Mexico.[21] This meant more reinforcements, but it also meant additional mouths to feed. Faced with the necessity of obtaining provisions, Vargas decided to embark immediately upon a campaign to crush the rebellious natives of Jémez and Santo Domingo. Since the Rio Grande was running dangerously high the campaign was temporarily postponed. In view of this delay and the pressing need of feeding the colony, Vargas decided upon a trip to the abandoned Tano and Tegua pueblos, and thence to Picuríes, to obtain maize. This mission having proved fruitless, he proceeded to Taos. The natives, upon learning of the approach of the Spaniards, fled into the nearby mountains, and large stores of grain which were left at the pueblo were captured. On the return trip to Santa Fe, for safety Vargas took a roundabout route which carried the expedition into what is now southern Colorado, and the grain reached its destination without mishap.[22]

The delayed campaign against the Jémez and their Santo Domingo confederates was now carried out. On July 24 the Rock of Jémez was carried by assault after a short and bloody battle. Great quantities of much-needed grain were captured. With additional Indian allies, Vargas now marched to the mesa of San Ildefonso. The future of the Spanish colony at Santa Fe hinged

---

[21] This colony consisted of 230 persons. Vargas' journal, Santa Fe, June 23, 1694, A. G. N., *Historia,* tomo 39, and A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 140.

[22] See J. Manuel Espinosa, "Governor Vargas in Colorado," *New Mexico Historical Review,* XI (1936), 179-187, and *idem,* "Diary of Vargas' Expedition into Colorado, 1694," *The Colorado Magazine,* XVI (1939), 1-11.

upon the submission of this formidable stronghold. On September 8 the harried natives atop the mesa laid down their arms and sued for peace. All New Mexico, except Picuríes and Taos in the north, and Acoma, Zuñi, and the Hopi pueblos in the west, was now definitely and permanently reconquered for Spain.

The victorious campaigns of 1694 were followed by the spread of settlement and of Spanish institutions. Missions were refounded, political jurisdictions were reestablished, the Indian pueblos were rebuilt and reoccupied, and local governments were again set up in the Indian pueblos on the Spanish model. In Santa Fe natives from the surrounding pueblos were again trading their produce with the settlers and mingling as the best of friends. "With sails full we forge ahead," Vargas wrote to the viceroy. Eleven Indian missions had been reestablished in the region surrounding Santa Fe, and this number was soon to be increased to thirteen. Ranches and farm sites were surveyed and occupied in the Santa Cruz Valley and along the Rio Grande to the southwest of Santa Fe. On April 22, 1695, the sixty-six families recently brought up from Mexico were settled at the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz. On May 9, forty-four additional families arrived from Mexico.[23] They brought with them horses, mules, and additional livestock. Soon much-needed farm implements arrived from Mexico. New Mexico was still a financial burden upon the government at Mexico City, but the future looked bright. Before the end of the year settlements also were established at Los Cerrillos and Bernalillo.

It is important to note that although the *encomienda* system existed in New Mexico prior to 1680 (and although we know that at least one of those who escaped to El Paso had been an *encomendero*), the Spaniards or their heirs who lost *encomiendas* in 1680 never regained the traditional *encomienda* right to collect an annual tribute from an allotted number of the subjugated Pueblo Indians. There was to be only one exception after 1680, the *encomienda* granted to Vargas as one result of his successful reconquest of New Mexico. But although technically an *encomienda,* the grant was never made effective, and finally, in 1726, Vargas' heirs had it changed into a royal pension.[24]

Now that the missionaries were distributed and the military

---

[23] Vargas' journal, Santa Fe, May 9, 1695, A. G. N., *Historia,* tomo 39, and A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 140. Bancroft was completely unaware of this group of colonists. Twitchell gives it no mention in his *Leading Facts, op. cit.,* but makes vague reference to it in his later article, "The Pueblo Revolt of 1696," *op. cit.,* 337-338.

[24] See Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *op. cit.,* 383, 413.

force was somewhat scattered, some of the native chieftains, especially among the Teguas, began to plot another revolt and massacre like those of 1680. As the winter of 1695-1696 set in there were ominous signs of an impending revolt. Many of the natives sullenly withdrew to the mountains. The missionaries warned Vargas, but to no avail. On June 4, 1696, a number of the pueblos rose, and in a sudden and horrible manner killed five missionaries and twenty-one Spanish settlers and soldiers, burned and desecrated mission churches, and fled to the mountains.

When news of the rebellion reached the authorities in Mexico City, they quickly pointed out the significance of the New Mexico outpost as the bulwark of defense against Indian attack for the whole northern frontier, and ordered that New Mexico must be preserved. Besides, the fear of French intrusion from the east was recently renewed by Apache reports to the effect that some white men had reached "the bank of the water" and made war on the people of Quivira.

Vargas met the rebellion with swift decision. A series of bold campaigns, in which Vargas was aided by the severe winter, forced the frozen and half-starved rebels to sue for peace. By the end of the year 1696 it may be said that the permanent submission of the Pueblo Indians of the upper Rio Grande to Spanish rule was complete. The dispersed Indians gradually returned to their pueblos, and the missions were soon reestablished. The New Mexico communities still had many a "starving time" to overcome, but the century and a half of Spanish rule which followed was relatively an era of peaceful growth.

Meanwhile, in 1696, Vargas' five year appointment as governor expired. Although he had early appealed for reappointment, Don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero had already bought the governorship for a term of five years, and took possession of the office at Santa Fe in July 1697. For reasons best known to those concerned, Cubero was able to arouse the colonists almost unanimously against Vargas, and after his thirty days' *residencia* had expired, he was thrown into prison and held there for nearly three years. It was a strange turn of affairs.

At the Spanish court across the Atlantic, completely ignorant of these developments, the king was giving approval to the reappointment of Vargas to the governorship in succession to Cubero, giving him the honorary title of "Pacificator," and granting him the title of Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas. All

this amid high praise for the reconqueror. And in 1698-1699 Vargas' "servant," Captain Antonio Valverde, who had made his way back to Spain during the imprisonment of his "patron," requested in the name of the latter, and obtained by royal appointment, the post of presidial captain at El Paso, a post which had always been under the direct jurisdiction of the ruling governor of the province, and not an independent royal appointment.[25] In 1698 the king finally granted Vargas an *encomienda* in New Mexico with an annual income of 4,000 pesos. In bestowing these many favors, always the deciding factor was that "the services of Don Diego de Vargas are very worthy of being regarded by your Majesty and rewarded." It is also of importance to note that his contemporary, Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, chronicler of the Council of the Indies, wrote for publication a laudatory two-volume history of the reconquest by Vargas, which he described as "these things which deserve so much not to be cast into the deep recesses of silence."[26] Locally, the luster of his achievements may seem to be dimmed by the activities of Cubero and his partisans, but from the broader point of view of the Spanish colonial empire, these facts show a truer appreciation of the achievements of the reconqueror.

It was not until the spring of 1700 that the authorities in Madrid learned that Vargas had been held by Cubero a prisoner in Santa Fe since October 2, 1697. After his release in the summer of 1700 he was fully exonerated, and finally, in the winter of 1703, "the grizzled old campaigner" returned to his old post as governor of New Mexico. Before his arrival Cubero fled in cowardly fashion, and the *cabildo* promptly humiliated itself by retracting all the charges which it had preferred against Vargas in the dark days of 1697. The charges of favoritism and of imposing undue hardships on the colonists were perhaps not without foundation.

A born soldier, Vargas was soon campaigning. In the following spring, however, while pursuing a band of Apaches in the Sandía mountains, he was stricken with a fatal illness. He died at Bernalillo on April 8, 1704.[27] His body was taken to Santa Fe

[25] Royal cédula, Madrid, May 16, 1699. A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 142.

[26] Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, (relator del Consejo de Indias), *Historia de la conquista pérdida y restauración de la Nueva Mexico en la America septentrional.* 2 folio vols., n. d., Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MSS. 2822-23.

The above work was never published. The author of this essay is at present translating and editing this interesting and important manuscript.

[27] Report of notification of the death of Vargas, Mexico City, August 4, 1704. A. G. I., *Guadalajara,* legajo 142.

for burial. An important aspect of the reconqueror's character and spirit is revealed in his last will which reads: "I desire and it is my will to have five hundred masses, two hundred applied to the Holy Virgin of Remedies, my protector, for the benefit of my soul, and three hundred for the souls of the poor who died in the conquest of this kingdom. . . ."[28]

Concluding Remarks

What happened in New Mexico after the reconquest, is well known to students of Southwest history. In the eighteenth century New Mexico became a key province for defense against Indian attack for the whole northern frontier of New Spain. During the first half of the nineteenth century the economic character of these Spanish settlements served as a magnet which was a determining factor in hastening the westward advance of the enterprising and acquisitive Anglo-American frontiersmen. The importance of the Santa Fe trade, based on the existence of permanent Spanish settlements in New Mexico, is well known.

Furthermore, in New Mexico Spanish institutions and Spanish culture took deep root. This distant corner of the old Spanish Empire, now a part of the United States, is even yet a community that is nearly half Spanish in racial origin. Among the Pueblo Indians the Spanish-Catholic tradition is still very much in evidence. The Spanish folk culture which persists, static but undying, is an integral part of the very soul of the region. Retaining many of its original elements, the region is to this day of real importance for the study of cultural fusion, and comparative Spanish philology, folklore, and tradition. In fine Spain modified and gave lasting character to the economy of the region.

In the light of these developments the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico in the last decade of the seventeenth century assumes its true significance in the history of Spanish defensive expansion and colonization in North America. Considering the success which he achieved, Don Diego de Vargas, the hitherto obscure leader and guiding spirit of the reconquest, stands out as an important figure in the broad story of Spain's action in colonial America.

J. Manuel Espinosa

Institute of Jesuit History
Loyola University, Chicago

[28] Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, I, 309. See also J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Virgin of the Reconquest of New Mexico," Mid-America, VII (1936), 76-81.

A Calendar of La Salle's Travels 1643-1683

Quite an amount of writing has been done about Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, whose exploits in New France and in the Mississippi River region have brought him into popular prominence as an explorer and trader. In view of the sound historical writing already accomplished and in the face of the secondary and even popular accounts, there seems to be no need of a new life of La Salle written along the customary biographical lines. A definitive biography does not appear to be the crying need of the moment, although scholars might welcome such a production. But a handy guide to the movements of La Salle, which can be used as a check against the literature already published, should prove useful, especially if all of the documentary sources for each phase of his career are added.

The purpose of this calendar, then, is achieved if it indicates when and where La Salle was during the first forty years of his life, that is, from November 1643 until November 1683, or from the month and year of his birth to the month and year when he left Quebec, never to return to New France. The last several years of his career spent on an ill-starred venture into Texas have been covered in book form. In the following calendar only those dates have been entered for which there is valid evidence. A distinction had to be made between inferential and positive dates, as will become obvious. In many cases the date is clear and only a reference to the document from which it was derived was necessary. At other times it was useful or necessary to add a few words about the trustworthiness of the evidence. While no attempt has been made to present a bibliography of secondary materials, it is hoped that this calendar form will serve as a guide to most of the presently known and accessible source materials pertaining to La Salle.

1643 November 21.—Birth of Robert Cavelier.

"L'extrait de baptême conservé à Rouen, porte qu'il fut baptisé le 22 Novembre, 1643. [See next entry.] Dans les *Catalogues* de la Compagnie de Jésus, il est dit qu'il naquit le 21 novembre." C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle,* 3 vols., Paris, 1895-1896, III, 40, note 2.

1643 November 22.—Robert Cavelier, son of Jean Cavelier and

Catherine Geest, was baptized on this day in the parish church of St. Herbland, Rouen, France.

Photograph of the entry in the baptismal register of this parish is in *Louisiane et Texas,* "Voyage de la mission 'Cavelier de la Salle,' " *Cahiers de Politique Etrangère,* n. 68-77, Paris, 1938, facing page 32.

1658 October 5 (*al.* October 15 and October 30).—Robert Cavelier enters the Jesuit Novitiate in Paris.

Rochemonteix, III, 42. For this date and for all those pertaining to La Salle's Jesuit days, Rochemonteix refers to the Catalogues of the Society of Jesus. This period of the explorer's life was recast by G. J. Garraghan, in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu,* IV, 1935, 268-290, under the title "Some Newly Discovered Marquette and La Salle Letters." The variants given for the date of La Salle's entrance into the novitiate were added in pencil by Father Garraghan in the margin of a reprint of the article, having been found by him, after publication, in the *Catalogi triennales* of the Order. The first date, however, is more probably the correct one, for Robert Cavelier took his vows on October 10, two years later. "Since this publication of the Jesuits [the *Archivum*] is not readily available to readers in our country, and since the three letters were published as they were written in Latin, there are added motives in presenting again the article in part and the letters in an English translation." Garraghan, "La Salle's Jesuit Days," in MID-AMERICA, XIX, 1937, 93-103.

1660 October 10.—Robert Cavelier pronounces the first vows of the Society of Jesus, in Paris.

Rochemonteix, III, 42-43. Robert Cavelier took "on this occasion Ignatius for his middle name out of the devotion he bore to the founder of his order. Having thus become by reason of his vows an 'approved scholastic' of the Society of Jesus, he was henceforth to be known in his Jesuit days as Brother, or (during his years of teaching) Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier." Garraghan, *Archivum,* 273.

1660 [October].—Robert Ignatius Cavelier goes to the royal college of La Flèche to begin his course of philosophy.

1662 [October].—He is sent to Alençon to teach *cinquième,* equivalently second year high school.

1663 [October].—He returns to La Flèche to finish his course of philosophy.

1664 [October].—He is sent to Tours to teach *quatrième,* or third year high school.

1665 [October].—He is sent to Blois, to teach *troisième,* or fourth year high school.

Rochemonteix, III, 43; cf. Garraghan, *Archivum,* 274-275, for these five entries.

1666 March 28.—Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier writes to the General of the Order, J. P. Oliva, asking to be sent to China.

The letter is printed in *Archivum,* 287; English translation in MID-AMERICA, XIX, 1937, 100-101.

1666 April 5.—A second letter to the General of the Order asking to be sent to Portugal.

Facsimile of the letter in *Archivum,* 283, printed *ibid.,* 289; English translation in MID-AMERICA, *loc. cit.,* 102.

1666 [October].—Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier goes from Blois to La Flèche to begin his course of theology.

Rochemonteix, III, 43, 46.

1666 December 1.—He writes to the General of the Order asking to go to China *via* Portugal.

The letter is printed in *Archivum,* 290; English translation in MID-AMERICA, *loc. cit.,* 102-103. Rochemonteix, III, 47.

1667 January 10.—Cavelier writes another letter to the Father General.

Rochemonteix, III, 47, note 1.

1667 January 28.—Letter of Father J. Bordier, Provincial of Paris, notifying the Father General, J. P. Oliva, that his advisers think best to dismiss Robert Ignatius Cavelier.

Ibid., 48, note 1.

1667 February 26.—The Father General answers Robert Cavelier's letter of January 10, notifying him that he has empowered Father Bordier to release him from his vows.

Ibid., 47, note 1.

1667 March 28.—"Master Robert Ignatius Cavelier left [the Society of Jesus from] the College of La Flèche."

Ibid., 48, note 2; Garraghan, *Archivum,* 277.

1667 Late Summer or Autumn.—Robert Cavelier arrives in Canada, goes to Montreal, is given land by M. de Queylus, names his concession "Côte de Saint-Sulpice," later to be known as Lachine.

E. M. Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada,* 3 vols., Villemarie, 1866, III, 228-229; for the name of the concession cf. *ibid.,* 298. Faillon bases his statements on documents in the recorder's office in Montreal; regrettably, he did not print them in full. The long ac-

cepted year, 1666, of La Salle's arrival in Canada had to be discarded after Rochemonteix published the date of his departure from La Flèche. The exact day of Cavelier's arrival in Quebec or in Montreal is likely to remain unknown. The note in Faillon, III, 228, implies that La Salle was in Montreal, November 1, 1667, signing the Bugnet marriage contract. The document is said to have disappeared from the notarial archives of Montreal, *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* XXXVII, 1931, 269. No Bugnet is listed in Tanguay's *Dictionnaire.* It is not known either when M. de Queylus made the land grant to La Salle, whether on arriving in Canada or the following year, for the Superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal "ne lui donna point alors de titre écrit."

1667 November 7.—"De La Salle, René Cavelier, Signe au mariage Dugué-Moyen."

E. Z. Massicotte, "Les Premiers Colons de Montréal," in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* XXXIII, 1927, 620.

1668 Spring and Summer.—La Salle exploits his concession.

On January 9, 1669, La Salle retroceded the whole of his concession to the St. Sulpice Seminary, with the exception of "sept arpens de terre de large sur soixante de profondeur pour son domaine, *au lieu où il a déjà fait quelques défrichemens de terre et bastiment* commençant sur le bord de la Grande Rivière, fleuve Saint-Laurent. . . ." Greffe de Villemarie, January 9, 1669, referred to in Faillon, III, extract printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale,* 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, I, 103, hereinafter cited as Margry. Cf. also the contract of sale of these 420 arpents square, February 3, 1669, Margry, I, 104.

1668 Autumn.—Some Seneca Indians spent most of the autumn at La Salle's house.

Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de M[essieu]rs D'Olier et Galinée, BN, Mss. fr. n. a. 7485:1-25, printed in Margry, I, 112-166; French text and English translation on opposite pages in J. H. Coyne, Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records,* IV, part I, with a critical account of the provenance, xxviii-xxx. The press mark given by Margry, *Fonds Renaudot,* Carton XVI, liasse 42, was *Renaudot,* vol. 30, when Coyne, in 1901, collated the Margry version with the Paris manuscript; today, it has the press mark as given above; a transcript of the document is in the Library of Congress. The English version published by Coyne was reissued by L. P. Kellogg, in *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699,* New York, 1917, 167-209. To this latter more readily accessible edition references will be made as Galinée's narrative in Kellogg, 170.

1668 October-December.—La Salle after spending some time in Montreal returns to his concession.

On December 16, 1668 (cf. Greffe de Villemarie, 16 déc. 1668, concession de La Salle à Barthélémy Vinet, Faillon, III, 229, 298), "he [La Salle] had just returned home [Côte de Saint-Sulpice] after a two months [?] stay in town in the house of Sieur Claude Robutel, which he had leased by deed before Basset on the 15th November." J. D. Girouard, *Lake St. Louis, old and new, illustrated, and Cavelier de la Salle,* Montreal, 1893, 23.

1669 January 9-February 3.—La Salle cedes a part of his concession to M. de Queylus; sells his fief, house, and other buildings to Jean Milot and moves to Montreal.

Faillon, III, 229, 298; Margry, I, 103-105. "The following entry is to be found in the terrier (of the Sulpicians of Montreal, lords of the Island): 'N° 467 to 471 exclusively. Sr. Robert le [?] Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, concessionnaire of 420 arpents in superficies, en fief, the 11th January 1669, besides 100 arpents given to Jean Milot upon the same conditions to replace 4 arpents superficies on the frontage which he gave up for the construction of the church and parsonage, and the seigneurs' mill. He owes fealty and homage.'" Girouard, *Lake St. Louis,* 16-17.

1669 After February 3.—La Salle acquires a house in Montreal.

Cf. Margry, I, 106, for the hiring of Charles Thoulonnier, the act was: "Fait et passé au dit Montréal, en la maison du dit sieur de la Salle, l'an 1669, le premier jour de juillet, avant midy."

1669 Spring.—La Salle in Quebec.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 169.

1669 End of June to July 6.—La Salle in Montreal.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 169; Margry, I, 106, 107, 109-112.

1669 July 6.—The Dollier-Galinée expedition leaves Montreal.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 170. "The adventurers, with the exception of La Salle, who followed some days afterward, left Montreal, on the 6th of July, in seven birch-bark canoes with twenty-one men, including a surgeon, a Dutch and Algonkin interpreters, besides two canoes of Senecas, who were to conduct the party." Coyne, xxii. There is nothing about La Salle leaving afterward in the text of Galinée; the latter mentions the date twice and does not suggest that La Salle left after July 6; nor is there any suggestion of La Salle leaving afterward in Dollier de Casson's *Histoire du Montréal,* Quebec, 1871, 112. What seems to have led Mr. Coyne to this conclusion is probably the date of a document in Margry, I, 105, "Fait à Montréal, le 9^{e} juillet 1669"; a misprint perhaps, for the same document is actually dated February 9, *ibid.,* 104. The printed evidence shows that if somebody left some days after July 6, it must have been the surgeon, cf. *ibid.,*

107-108; however, the date may have been inaccurately transcribed by Faillon's copyist, or by Margry, or it may be a misprint.

1669 July.—The expedition reaches Otondiata, an island forty miles from Montreal up the St. Lawrence.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 174.

1669 August 2.—They arrive at Lake Ontario.

Ibid., 175.

1669 August 8.—Stopover at an "island where a Seneca Indian had made a sort of country house."

Ibid., 176.

1669 August 11.—"After thirty-five days of very difficult navigation, we arrived at a small stream, called by the Indians Karontagouat," identified as the Irondequoit River, New York.

Ibid., 177.

1669 August 12.—La Salle and Galinée leave for a nearby Iroquois village.

Ibid., 179.

1669 Between August 12 and August 20.—La Salle and Galinée go to the sulphur spring.

Ibid., 182.

1669 September 24.—The expedition reaches Tinawatawa.

Ibid., 191.

1669 September 30.—La Salle leaves Dollier and Galinée near the entrance of Lake Erie; that is, at Tinawatawa, a small village thought to have been situated near Westover, Ontario.

Galinée's narrative, in Kellogg, 194. "Le Sieur de la Salle . . . fit divers voyages, tantost avec des François, tantost avec des Sauvages, et mesme avec MM. Dollier et Galinée, prestres du séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, l'année 1669; mais une violente fièvre l'obligea à les quitter à l'entrée du lac Erié." Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Clairambault, 1016:85. This quotation is from the *Relation des descouvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle,* and is printed in Margry, I, 435-544; it has been reprinted from Margry with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson under the title *Relation of the Discoveries and Voyages of Cavelier de La Salle from 1679 to 1681,* Chicago, 1901.

A few words about the manuscripts of this relation are in place here. Three fragments are found among Abbé Claude Bernou's papers. The first, a four-page draft, BN, Clairambault, 1016:51-52v, with many erasures and corrections is in the handwriting of Bernou; the second, *ibid.,* f. 85-91v, is the same as the above, but in the hand of a copyist;

both fragments cover only the first pages of Margry's printed text. The third fragment, in the same copyist's hand as the second, *ibid.*, 92-147v, covers page 466 to page 540 of Margry's printed text. The whole relation is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, vol. 67, n. 4. There are only slight variations between the third fragment and the complete copy; it is the latter which Margry printed. This *Relation des descouvertes* was certainly written by Bernou, and was handed in to Seignelay, Colbert's son, in the first months of 1682, together with another autograph memoir of Bernou, BN, Clairambault, 1016:190-193, printed, minus the marginal headings, in Margry, II, 277-288.

The *Relation des descouvertes* is not a primary source; it is a narrative by a contemporary based on some letters of La Salle and on other accounts, for instance, that of the Dollier-Galinée expedition. Nevertheless, it is the only extant evidence concerning some parts of La Salle's journeys. With one exception, all the letters in which the explorer narrates his travels from 1678 to 1682, have come down mutilated. There is little about La Salle's activities before 1678 in the narrative; and the reason for this dearth of information is not far to seek. Barring the Dollier-Galinée expedition, La Salle, except for a few trips to the Iroquois country, remained in Lower Canada, and had nothing to report. The lack of proportion between the first eleven years of the explorer's life in Canada, three printed pages in Margry, and the last three, more than one hundred printed pages in Margry, did not escape Bernou. In 1684, when La Salle was in France, the abbé wrote to Renaudot to give him "my relation." The explorer might use it as an outline, or better re-write it "n'en estant pas moi mesme beaucoup satisfait surtout dans les commencemens ou je manquois de dates et de memoires." BN, Manuscrits français, nouvelles acquisitions, 7497:89. In general, dates and places, after 1678, found only in the *Relation des descouvertes,* because of the mutilation of La Salle's letters, can be accepted as trustworthy evidence, for a comparison between these data in the *Relation* and in the extant La Salle autograph fragments shows that Bernou faithfully transcribed them in his narrative.

1670 Early Summer.—Nicolas Perrot met La Salle on the Ottawa River, near Arnprior.

"Quand nous eusmes descendu les Calumets, nous rencontrâmes un peu au-dessous des Chats, Mr. de la Salle qui estoit à la chasse avec cinq ou six François et dix ou douze Iroquois." J. Tailhan, ed., *Memoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale,* Leipzig and Paris, 1864, 119-120.

1670 September.—La Salle comes to Quebec and is sent on an exploratory journey by Courcelle and Talon.

Talon arrived at Quebec, August 18, 1670. In October, he wrote to the king that, in the interval, he had sent adventurers to the west,

northwest, south, and southwest of Canada. Talon to Louis XIV, November, *i. e.,* October 10, 1670, in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1930-1931,* Quebec, 1931 (to be quoted as RAPQ). To Colbert Talon wrote that the St. Lawrence had its headwaters in the west, while the tributaries of the river "ouvrent le chemin au nord et au sud, c'est par ce mesme fleuve qu'on peut esperer de trouver quelque jour l'ouverture au Mexique et c'est au premières de ces découvertes que nous avons envoyé Monsieur de Courcelles et moy le S^r^ de la Salle qui a bien de la chaleur pour ces entreprises, tandis que par un autre endroit j'ay fait partir the S^r^ de St. Lusson pour pousser vers l'ouest." Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, RAPQ, 1931, 136. Talon's secretary seems to have made a mistake with regard to the direction taken by La Salle, and Colbert misunderstood the intendant with regard to the direction taken by St. Lusson. The minister answered: "La resolution que vous avez prise d'envoyer le S^r^ de la Salle, du costé du sud, et le S^r^ de St. Lusson du coste du Nord, pour decouvrir le passage de la mer du Sud [Pacific Ocean], est fort bonne." Colbert to Talon, [February 11, 1671], RAPQ, 1931, 146. In his letter to the king, November 2, 1671, Talon specifies the direction taken by La Salle: "Le S^r^ de la Salle n'est pas encore de retour de son voyage du costé du sud de ce païs, mais le S^r^ de St. Lusson est revenu, . . ." RAPQ, 1931, 157. A vague reference to this official exploration is found in Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 436, and in C. Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France,* 2 vols., Paris, 1691, translated into English by J. G. Shea, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France by Father Christian Le Clercq,* 2 vols., New York, 1881, II, 89. For all that pertains to La Salle the *First Establishment* is not a primary source, but is, at best, a third-hand account; the few references to this narrative will be to the more accessible English translation.

1671 August 6.—La Salle in Montreal.

"On y [recorder's office of Montreal] voit que, le 6 du mois d'août 1671, il [La Salle] avait reçu à crédit, *dans son grand besoin & necessité* [italics not ours] des mains de M. Migeon de Branssat, procureur fiscal à Villemarie, des marchandises, qui se montaient à la somme de quatre cent cinquante-quatre livres tournois." Faillon, III, 313.

1671 November 2.—La Salle has not yet returned to Quebec with the report of his exploratory journey.

Talon to Louis XIV, November 2, 1671, RAPQ, 1931, 157.

1672 December 18.—La Salle domiciled at Montreal renews his promissory note.

"On y [recorder's office of Montreal] voit encore que, le 18 décembre 1672, étant à Villemarie, il [La Salle] promit de payer, au mois d'août suivant, la même somme [454 livres tournois] en argent

monnayé, ou en pelleteries, soit à Villemarie, en la maison de M. Le Ber, où il demeurait, soit à Rouen, en celle de M. Nicolas Crevel, conseiller du Roi & maître des comptes, son parent." Faillon, III, 313.

1672-1673 Winter of.—La Salle in the Iroquois country.

"Cependant comme j'eus avis cet hiver par le S^r^ de la Salle qui était chez les Iroquois. . . ." Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 36.

1673 Early in.—La Salle is sent by Frontenac to invite the Iroquois to Cataracouy.

". . . He [Frontenac] selected Sieur de la Salle as a person qualified for such a service by the different journeys he had made into that country [Iroquoia] and by his acquaintance with the Indians. He sent him orders to leave Montreal as soon as the navigation would permit, and to proceed to Onontagué [Onondaga] the place where all the Nations assemble for business and to invite them to send delegates to Kenté towards the end of June; he was to carry the same message, should he think proper, to the four other [Iroquois] villages." Journal of Count Frontenac's Voyage to Lake Ontario in 1673, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Albany, IX, 97; cf. Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 36.

1673 July 10.—La Salle at the Seneca village.

Letter of Father Garnier to Frontenac, Margry, I, 239; instead of Garnier, Margry has Gravier, who did not come to Canada until 1685; the manuscript copy of this letter in Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 4:8, has Garnier; this is also the reading in *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France, (1672-1679),* 2 vols., Paris, 1861, I, 346. The date, July 6, given to this letter in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations,* 57:26, is erroneous.

1673 August 10.—La Salle at Techirogen.

Letter of La Salle to Frontenac, Margry, I, 240.

1673 September 1.—La Salle at a Mohawk village.

Letter of Father Bruyas to Frontenac, Margry, I, 241.

1673 September 9.—La Salle at Techirogen.

Letter of Father de Lamberville to Frontenac, Margry, I, 242.

1673 [October].—La Salle in Quebec.

"Il me semble que le bruit qu'on avait fait courir ce printemps de la prise de Manathe et d'Orange était une véritable prophétie, puisqu'elle est arrivée de la même manière qu'on la publiait alors; quelques circonstances particulières *que m'en ait dites* le Sr. de la Salle jusqu'à en avoir ouï les coups de canons, j'ai encore peine à le croire." Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 45.

1673 [November].—La Salle in Montreal.

"Mais Bizard, avant de partir [Montreal] pour Québec, eut soin de dresser aussi un procès-verbal de son arrestation et le fit signer par M. Le Ber, par le sieur La Salle, logé dans la maison de celui-là, et par un domestique, qui avaient été témoins de ce qui venait d'avoir lieu." Faillon, III, 477.

1673 [December] until after February 7, 1674.—La Salle in Quebec.

"Au bout de quatre ou cinq jours, M. Perrot, ayant eu connaissance de ce procès-verbal [preceding entry] . . . conçut une violente animosité contre ceux qui l'avaient souscrit. D'abord il fit saisir M. Le Ber, &, pour le punir, l'envoya en prison sans aucune forme de justice. Il n'osa pas en faire autant à l'égard de M. La Salle, . . . & se contenta de le faire observer durant le jour par ses soldats. La Salle s'en aperçut, & craignant d'être saisi à son tour, il jugea qu'il était expédient pour lui de prévenir les violences de M. Perrot, sauta de nuit pardessus la clôture de la maison & se rendit secrètement à Québec." Faillon, III, 477. That La Salle was still in Quebec on February 7, is seen from the deposition of Villeray before the Sovereign Council, *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle France, 1663-1710,* 6 vols., Quebec, 1885-1891, I, 846.

1674 Before March 25 until after May 2.—La Salle in Montreal.

"René Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle . . . faisant de présent sa demeure en cette ville [Montreal] . . . après la grande messe [Easter Sunday] . . . s'en alla droit au logis du sieur Le Ber où il demeure." La Salle's deposition, May 2, 1674, in RAPQ, 1922, 129-130.

1674 [Summer].—La Salle at Cataracouy.

The time of the year and the place are inferences. Bernou in his *Relation,* Margry, I, 436, is vague and unspecific, merely stating that when the government of Fort Frontenac became vacant, La Salle went to France to ask for it. Le Clercq's assertions, II, 90, can be discarded; he wrote: "Monsieur de Frontenac cast his eyes on the said sieur [La Salle] to confide to his hands the command of Fort Frontenac, where he was nearly a year, till coming to France in 1675, he obtained etc." When the fort was nearly finished and before his return to Quebec in 1673, Frontenac appointed the Sieur de Brugière as commandant. Frontenac to Colbert, November 13, 1673, RAPQ, 1927, 42. The following year, finding himself unable to finance the upkeep of the fort out of his own pocket and the king unwilling to advance the funds, Frontenac handed the fort over to Messrs. Bazire and Le Ber, "suivant les conventions que vous verrez que j'en ai fait avec eux et que je vous envoye côté D." Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 67. In none of the documents is La Salle said to be in any way connected with Cataracouy before May 1674; hence it is inferred that

he went to the fort after that date, probably during the summer. This inference seems to be supported by the following statement in La Salle's memoir petitioning for the proprietorship of the fort: "The proposer, aware of the importance to the Colony of Canada of the establishment of Fort Frontenac, of which he was some time in command. . . ." O'Callaghan, *Documents relative,* IX, 122. The time during which La Salle was in command of Fort Frontenac must have been short, for in November he was already about to leave Quebec for France.

1674 November 14.—La Salle at Quebec is about to leave Canada for France.

Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, RAPQ, 1927, 78. The ships left before November 19, *Jugements et délibérations,* I, 880, 882.

1675 Before April 5 until after May 13.—La Salle in Paris. The king issued letters patent granting the proprietorship of Fort Frontenac and conferred upon him letters of nobility.

Margry, I, 280; O'Callaghan, *Documents relative,* IX, 122; Margry, I, 281-287; Colbert to Frontenac, May 13, 1675, RAPQ, 1927, 84.

1675 After May 30.—La Salle leaves France for Canada.

According to Hennepin, La Salle sailed on the ship that brought Bishop Laval, returning to Canada, and Hennepin himself. *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand Pays, situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique, et la Mer Glaciale,* Utrecht, 1697, *Avis au lecteur.* The day and the month when the ship left La Rochelle is not known; the date given above is that of a letter of Louis XIV to Frontenac, notifying the governor of the arrival of Duchesneau, RAPQ, 1927, 84. The bishop and the newly appointed intendant came by the same ship.

1675 Between September 2 and 16.—Arrival at Quebec.

The ship that brought Laval and Duchesneau cast anchor before Quebec between these two dates, *Jugements et délibérations,* I, 986, 987-988. "The bishop . . . arrived at Quebec early in September, 1675, in company with Monsieur du Chesneau, . . . who came as intendant of the country." Le Clercq, II, 93.

1675 Until after October 12.—La Salle remains in Quebec.

His title to the Fort Frontenac concession was registered on September 23, *Jugements et délibérations,* I, 994; he took the oath as governor of Fort Frontenac, on October 12, Margry, I, 292-293.

1676 Summer and Autumn.—La Salle is at Fort Frontenac.

"Il [La Salle] avoit résolu de commencer par la construction du fort Frontenac; il en jetta les fondements au mois d'Aoust 1676." BN, Clairambault, 1016:50, printed in Margry, I, 333. This Bernou autograph memoir was composed in 1678. Written at the beginning of the

abbé's association with La Salle, it contains not a few errors and many surmises. A passage of this memoir has been used to prove that La Salle discovered the Ohio at some unspecified time. Frontenac visited the fort in the summer of 1676, *Jugements et délibérations,* II, 74; he returned to Quebec between October 12 and 19, *ibid.,* 79-80, probably with La Salle, cf. next entry.

1676 October 20-November 5.—La Salle in Quebec.

On October 20, he attended a meeting for the regulation of the price of beaver pelts, AC, F 3, 2:32v; two weeks later he granted a tract of land to the Recollects, P.-G. Roy, *Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec,* 3 vols., Quebec, 1938-1939, III, 208-209.

1677 March 22.—La Salle in Quebec grants a tract of land to the Recollects.

The land grant was made "par Robert Cavelier, escuyer, sieur de la Salle, . . . present en sa personne . . . a Quebec." E. Réveillaud, ed., *Histoire chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada,* Paris, 1888, 191; the deed is listed in *Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec,* III, 15. In Margry's summary, I, 298, it is not said that La Salle was in Quebec. This land grant, not that of November 5, 1676, is mentioned in Le Clercq, II, 91.

1677 September 7.—La Salle at Fort Frontenac.

Margry, I, 296. Bernou in his memoir of 1678, BN, Clairambault, 1016:50, stated that La Salle left the fort "pour revenir en France au mois de 7^{bre} 1677." Margry, I, 333, misread the month, he has November.

1677 October 24.—La Salle in [Quebec?]

Jugements et délibérations, II, 332.

1678 May 12-July 5.—La Salle in Paris.

The letter patent giving him permission to explore the western part of New France is dated May 12, Margry, I, 337, *Documents relative . . . of the State of New York,* IX, 127. While in Paris, La Salle borrowed money from various individuals to finance his explorations, Margry, I, 425, 427-428; and cf. *id.,* II, 113-114.

1678 July 5.—La Salle leaves Paris for La Rochelle.

Letter of M. Louis Tronson to M. François Dollier de Casson, n. 68; copies of these letters are in the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

1678 July 14.—La Salle sails on the *Saint-Honoré* from La Rochelle.

First Relation of Henri de Tonti, dated Quebec, November 14, 1684; two copies are among Bernou's papers, BN, Clairambault, 1016: 220-266, and 267-279, printed in Margry, I, 573-616, hereinafter to be

quoted as I Tonti, Margry, I, 574; Margry's French text was re-issued together with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of Henry de Tonty,* Chicago, 1898.—Second Relation of Tonti, written in 1690, sent to Pontchartrain in 1693, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 7485: 103-118, printed in Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la France dans les pays d'outre-mer,* Paris, 1867; this relation, to be referred to as II Tonti, has often been printed in English, the version published by L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives,* 286-322, will be used in this article, II Tonti, in Kellogg, 286. Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 438, merely has July 1678.

1678 September 15.—La Salle arrives in Quebec.

II Tonti, Kellogg, 286. September 13, is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 574; the later date was chosen because a document entitled "Memoire sur la conduite du Sr. de la Salle," AC, F 3, 2:58, dated November 11, 1680, printed in Margry, II, 31, also has September 15. Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 438, reads: "Il arriva à la fin de Septembre à Québec . . .," erroneously translated "the last of September" in Anderson, p. 15; the same error is made in Miss Cross' translation of Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana,* p. 15. The interdependence of the *Description de la Louisiane* and the *Relation des descouvertes* for all that pertains to La Salle's journeys is to be studied in a subsequent article.

1678 September 15-November 10.—La Salle in Quebec. He was ill for six weeks on arriving, or shortly after his arrival.

La Salle's incomplete autograph letter to [Thouret]; he finished writing it at Michilimackinac after September 29, 1680, BN, Clairambault, 1016:65-84v, printed in Margry, II, 32-93. On October 26, he attended the "brandy parliament," *Jugements et délibérations,* II, 253. October 10, given by Margry, I, 414, is the date when twenty inhabitants were first summoned; La Salle was not among them; he and two others were called to the meeting when three Canadians originally summoned failed to come, cf. *Jugements et délibérations,* II, 247-248. La Salle signed various promissory notes dated October 28, November 8, Margry, I, 432, 428-429; November 10, *Jugements et délibérations,* II, 332.

1678 November 10.—La Salle leaves Quebec for Montreal.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 574.

1678 November 21.—La Salle arrives at Montreal, where he remained five days.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 574; Margry, I, 428; *Jugements et délibérations,* II, 332. For these years, the dates in Tonti's first memoir—there are comparatively few specific dates in the second—have been found, when checked against independent evidence such as promissory notes or judicial documents, to be singularly accurate.

1678 November 26.—La Salle leaves Montreal for Fort Frontenac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575.

1678 December 16.—La Salle arrives at Fort Frontenac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575. Bernou in his *Relation,* Margry, I, 438-439, is vague: "Il s'y [Fort Frontenac] rendit luy mesme sitost qu'il eut achevé ses affaires." Le Clercq, II, 109, places La Salle's arrival before November 18.

1678 December 24.—La Salle sails from Fort Frontenac for Niagara.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 575. In II Tonti, Kellogg, 287, there is an error as to the length of time La Salle stayed at Fort Frontenac.

1678 December 25.—The party lands at the mouth of the Genesee River; they go to the Seneca village to get corn; sail to nine leagues from Niagara, and then finish the journey on foot.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576; II Tonti, Kellogg, 287.

1678 Before December 31.—Arrival at the mouth of the Niagara River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576.

1679 Until January 30.—La Salle at the shipyard of the *Griffon.*

I Tonti, Margry, I, 576. La Salle's autograph letters to La Motte are dated January 23 and 27; facsimile of the first in RAPQ, 1928, facing page 320, printed in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques,* XXX, 1924, 104-105; the second is printed in Margry, II, 9-10.

1679 January 31.—La Salle leaves the shipyard of the *Griffon.*

"Il [La Salle] m'y fit venir [Tonti to the shipyard] le 30 [January] pour y commander. Ayant pris résolution d'aller au fort de Frontenac sur les glaces, je l'accompagnay jusqu'au lac [Ontario] . . ." I Tonti, Margry, I, 577; cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 287. There is no authority for Le Clercq's statement that La Salle "made frequent voyages from Fort Frontenac to Niagara, during the winter on the ice, in the spring with vessels loaded with provisions." Le Clercq, II, 111.

1679 February 1.—La Salle chooses an emplacement for a fort at the mouth of the Niagara River.

"Le 1er février, il traça à la sortie de la rivière un fort qu'il nomma Conty." I Tonti, Margry, I, 577.

1679 February-July.—La Salle at Fort Frontenac.

Jugements et délibérations, II, 333, Margry, II, 20.

1679 After July 18.—La Salle leaves Fort Frontenac for Niagara *via* the Seneca country.

Jugements et délibérations, II, 333. La Salle's route through the Seneca country is mentioned in two autograph letters signed; in that written to [Thouret] after September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 34, 35, and in that addressed to [Bernou], *ibid.,* 215, 217, 219, dated Fort Frontenac, August 22, 1682. The year given on the manuscript, BN, Clairambault, 1016:170, and repeated by Margry, II, 212, is evidently a *lapsus calami* for 1681. Beside the internal evidence which shows plainly that when La Salle wrote this letter he had not as yet gone to the Gulf, it is known for certain that in August 1682, he was not at Fort Frontenac, but in the Illinois country. This route *via* the Seneca villages is also found in a peculiar document, copies of which are in several series. The original, not signed, is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, vol. 65:n. 15. The upper right hand corner of the verso of the last sheet has this note: "M. de Frontenac 9 nov^{bre} 1680." The upper left, in the handwriting of Colbert, has the following remark: "A Eslargir veriffier si je n'a p[as] tout tronqué [?] de ces lettres." There is no known extant letter of Frontenac bearing this date. A copy of the document is in BN, Mss. fr. 15466:224-225v, the present writer has not seen it; a second copy is among Renaudot's papers, BN, Mss. fr. n. a. 7485, pt. II, 134-138v; a third is in AC, C 13C, 3:23-26, it is printed in Margry, II, 93-102, reprinted and translated into English in T. C. Pease and R. C. Werner, ed., *The French Foundations 1680-1693,* pp. 1-16, vol. XXIII, of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, 1934. The reason for including the document in this volume, say the editors, is because of the "adapted form in which it appears in Margry." The three versions collated are slightly different; the variants consist in capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and a few transpositions. "Not a narrative, but a summary of geographical information," noted W. G. Leland in his *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* Washington, D. C., 1932, 98.

1679 Before July 22.—La Salle arrives at Niagara.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579.

1679 August 7.—The *Griffon* towed into Lake Erie sails for Michilimackinac the same day.

La Salle's autograph letters, Margry, II, 76, 214; Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 445. The navigation of the *Griffon* is given in great detail in Bernou's *Relation.* There seems to be little doubt that the abbé took the account from the letter which La Salle finished writing after September 29, 1680; the beginning of this letter is missing. The first date mentioned in the extant fragment is January 1, 1680. Margry, II, 36. In his letter of August 22, 1681, La Salle wrote: "Je vous [Bernou] envoye celle que j'escrivois l'an passé à M. Thouret [the letter of September 29, 1680], où vous verrez ce qui s'est fait en destail jusqu'au 16 aoust 1680, depuis nostre depart de l'entrée du lac Erié

[that is, since August 7, 1679, when the *Griffon* sailed for Michilimackinac]. Ce qui a précédé [that is, since La Salle arrived at Quebec September 15, 1678] avoit esté escrit au long dans les lettres que mon frère [Jean Cavelier] a jugé bon d'intercepter." Margry, II, 213. The last statements explain why Bernou's *Relation* is so sketchy concerning La Salle's activities during the first year after his return to New France in 1678. Cf. *supra* the comments added to the entry of September 30, 1669.

1679 August 10.—The *Griffon* at the south entrance of the Lake Erie-Lake Huron strait.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579; Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 445.

1679 August 27.—Arrival of the *Griffon* at Michilimackinac.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 579; Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 448.

1679 September 12.—The *Griffon* sails from Michilimackinac.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 450.

1679 September 18.—La Salle dispatches the *Griffon* to Niagara, from an island at the mouth of Green Bay, identified as Washington Island.

La Salle's autograph letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 73; Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 451.

1679 September 19.—La Salle with fourteen men leaves Washington Island, southward bound.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 451.

1679 November 1.—After having followed the west shore of Lake Michigan, the party reaches the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 452-460.

1679 December 3.—After having begun to build a fort, La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River for the Kankakee portage.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 580; Bernou's *Relation,* I, 461.

1679 December 6.—The expedition arrives at the headwaters of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 581.

1679 December 15.—The expedition at the headwaters of the Kankakee.

Ibid., 582.

1680 January 1.—Arrival at the Great Illinois village, located on the Illinois River, between Utica and Ottawa.

La Salle's autograph letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 36. As said above, from this date on the sequence of dates and places can be followed in this letter of La Salle. The "je" of La Salle becomes "il" in Bernou's *Relation;* the "nous" becomes "ils" or the indefinite "on." Sometimes the chronicler transcribes the explorer's text word for word; a few parallel passages are given below. I Tonti, Margry, I, 582, gives the date of arrival at the Illinois village as December 31, 1679.

1680 January 5.—Arrival at Lake Peoria.

Nous marchasmes quatre journées vers le sud quart de sud-ouest le long de cette rivière et arrivasmes le cinquiesme de Janvier au lieu que les Sauvages appellent en leur langue Pimiteoui. Nous avions aperçeu, dès le veille, des fumées en traversant un petit lac; et ce jour-là, sur les neuf heures du matin, nous trouvasmes des deux costez de la rivière quantité de pirogues et vismes de grandes fumées qui sortoient de quatre-vingts cabanes pleines de Sauvages que nous descouvrismes les premiers et qui ne nous aperceurent qu'après que nous eusmes doublé la pointe derrière laquelle ils estoient campez à demy-portée de fusil.

La Salle's letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 37.

Il [La Salle] se rembarqua le mesme jour [January 1] . . . et descendit durant quatre jours sur la mesme rivière, qui couroit au sud quart de sud-ouest. Sur la fin du quatriesme jour, en traversant un petit lac que forme la rivière, on remarqua des fumées qui firent connoistre que les Sauvages estoient cabanez près de la. En effet, le cinquiesme, sur les neuf heures du matin, on vit des deux costez de la rivière quantité de pirogues et environ quatre-vingts cabanes pleines de Sauvages qui n'aperceurent les canots qu'après qu'ils eurent doublé une pointe derrière laquelle les Illinois estoient cabanez à demi-portée de fusil.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 466.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 583, has January 4; II Tonti, Kellogg, 289, has January 3, 1679; the error of the year is pointed out by the editor.

1680 January 15.—La Salle goes to the spot where he will build Fort Crèvecoeur.

. . . Nous nous rendismes au lieu que j'avois destiné, le 15 Janvier, sur le soir, un grand dégel, qui survint à propos, ayant rendu la rivière libre depuis Pimiteoui jusques là. C'estoit un petit tertre esloigné du bord de la rivière d'environ trois arpents, jusques au pied duquel elle se répandoit toutes les fois qu'il tomboit beaucoup de pluye.

La Salle's letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 48.

Un grand dégel estant survenu le 15 Janvier et ayant rendu la rivière libre au-dessous du village, le Sieur de la Salle se rendit avec tous ses canots au lieu qu'il avoit choisy pour y faire un fort. C'estoit un petit tertre esloigné d'environ deux cents pas du bord de la rivière qui s'estendoit jusqu'au pied dans le temps des grandes pluyes.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 476.

Tonti adds that a bark was begun on January 15, Margry, I, 583.

1680 March 1.—La Salle leaves Fort Crèvecoeur for Niagara and Fort Frontenac.

La Salle gives this date in two autograph letters, Margry, II, 55, 117. There is a promissory note dated Fort Crèvecoeur, March 1 and 2, Margry, I, 429-430. The reason for this discrepancy is probably the following. La Salle left Fort Crèvecoeur with six men, and went to the north end of Lake Peoria, cf. Margry, II, 55; later on the journey, he speaks of only four men. It seems that he left two men behind at the northern end of Lake Peoria, among whom was Hillaret the beneficiary of the promissory note. La Salle may have dated the second note from Fort Crèvecoeur, as he was not far away on March 2. I Tonti, Margry, I, 585, has March 10, and II Tonti, Kellogg, 290, March 22.

1680 March 24.—La Salle and his companions reach the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

La Salle's letter, *post* September 29, 1680, Margry, II, 59. The journey is narrated in detail in this letter, and most of it is repeated word for word by Bernou in his *Relation,* Margry, I, 489 ff.

1680 April 21.—Arrival at Niagara.

La Salle's letter, in Margry, II, 63.

1680 May 6.—Arrival at Fort Frontenac.

Id., ibid., 64.

1680 Second half of May.—La Salle goes to Montreal.

Id., ibid., 69; cf. his letter of 1681, autumn, *ibid.,* 119.

1680 June to August 9.—La Salle at Fort Frontenac.

On July 22, three men arrived at Fort Frontenac bringing the news of the desertion of the workmen in the Illinois country, La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 69-70; the following pages narrate in detail how he captured some of the deserters; all of which is repeated by Bernou in his *Relation,* Margry, I, 497 ff. The date of the arrival of the men from Fort Crèvecoeur, July 9, in Margry, II, 105, is probably an error of transcription.

1680 August 10.—La Salle leaves Fort Frontenac for the Illinois country.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 500. This and the following date were probably in La Salle's letter written in the autumn of 1681, Margry, II, 115; the fact that the beginning of this letter is missing is not indicated by Margry.

1680 August 15.—La Salle arrives at Teïoïagon, an Iroquois village, sixty leagues from Fort Frontenac, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, not far from present-day Toronto.

Bernou's *Relation,* Margry, I, 500. La Salle describes the portage from Teïoïagon to Lake Simcoe as follows: "Une langue de terre . . . qui a treize lieues de large, de Teioiagon au lac Taronto, où il faut porter tout son bagage par la cime de très hautes montagnes." La Salle's letter, autumn, 1681, Margry, II, 125.

1680 August 23.—La Salle, having left Teïoïagon the day before, reaches Lake Simcoe on this day.

La Salle's autograph letter, autumn, 1681, Margry, II, 115. From this date until the autumn of 1681, the explorer's travels can be followed in this letter. Bernou repeated the data in his *Relation,* Margry, I, 501 ff.

1680 September 17.—La Salle leaves Sault Ste Marie, where he had arrived the preceding day, for Michilimackinac.

La Salle's letter, autumn, 1681, Margry, II, 116.

1680 October 4.—After three weeks at Michilimackinac, La Salle leaves for the Illinois country.

Ibid., 116, 125.

1680 November 4.—At the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Ibid., 125.

1680 November 8-17.—With six Frenchmen and one Indian, La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River; a week later they were at the Miami village, and after two days they reached the Kankakee portage.

Ibid., 127.

1680 November 27.—The party stopped at the mouth of the Des Plaines River.

Ibid., 128.

1680 December 1.—Arrival at the Illinois village.

Ibid., 128.

1680 December 2-5.—They left the Illinois village, December 2; stopped for the night, December 3-4, at Fort Crèvecoeur; and were near the Mississippi, at noon, December 5.

Ibid., 131-133.

1680 December 7.—They start up the Illinois River.

Ibid., 136.

1680 December 11.—La Salle, and three Frenchmen and the Indian arrive at the Illinois village where they had left the surgeon, Tamisier and Baron, before descending the Illinois River.

Ibid., 136.

1680 December 28.—La Salle and his seven companions leave the Illinois village.

Ibid., 137.

1681 January 6.—They reach the mouth of the Des Plaines.

Ibid., 137.

1681 January [26].—They arrive at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

The day of the month is a deduction from the passage of La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 137-138. Which route was followed is not clear, there is no mention of Lake Michigan; one league up the Des Plaines, La Salle left D'Autray and another man to guard the merchandise; he then followed the Des Plaines on foot for one day, and seems to have cut across the country to the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

1681 March 1.—La Salle and all his men leave the mouth of the St. Joseph River for the Illinois country.

Margry, II, 143. The route followed is not given; there is no mention of the Kankakee portage, nor of the portage of Chicago. "Nous estions quinze bien équipez d'armes et de raquettes, et un fort verglas avoit tellement affermy la neige qu'on y marchoit avec facilité." This would seem to indicate that they traveled across the country.

1681 March 15.—Arrival at the Illinois village.

Ibid., 144.

1681 March [25].—They leave the Illinois village for the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

Ibid., 146. The day of the month is an inference from what La Salle says in Margry, II, 145-146.

1681 April.—A short time after his arrival at the mouth of the St. Joseph, La Salle leaves for the Miami village up the river.

Margry, II, 148.

1681 April-May.—Return to the mouth of the St. Joseph River where a fort is begun.

Ibid., 158.

1681 May 25.—La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River for Michilimackinac.

Ibid., 158.

1681 June 6.—La Salle arrives at Michilimackinac.

"M. de la Salle arriva le lendemain [of Corpus Christi, June 5]." I Tonti, Margry, I, 592. In his second memoir, Tonti wrote: "We reached Michilimackinac about Corpus Christi in 1680 [*i. e.*, 1681],

M. de la Salle arrived some time afterwards." II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. No source gives the route of La Salle, whether he followed the east or west shore of Lake Michigan.

1681 After June 6.—La Salle accompanied by Tonti, Father Membré, and some Frenchmen, leaves Michilimackinac for Fort Frontenac *via* Lake Simcoe, Teïoïagon, and the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593; cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. La Salle in his letter of the autumn, 1681, does not mention the route he followed; Margry, II, 158; but Bernou says that he went to Fort Frontenac "by the Lake Taronto route." Margry, I, 543.

1681 Latter part of June.—La Salle leaves Tonti and three men near Lake Simcoe, and arrives with Membré at Fort Frontenac, where he finds letters from Frontenac ordering him to go to Montreal.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593; La Salle's letter, Margry, II, 158; cf. II Tonti, Kellogg, 296.

1681 August 11.—La Salle at Montreal.

Margry, II, 163; RAPQ, 1922, 190.

1681 August 24.—La Salle having returned from Montreal to Fort Frontenac, left the fort after this date.

La Salle's autograph letter of August 22, 1681, in Margry, II, 212; a promissory note is dated August 24, Margry, I, 430.

1681 Latter part of September.—La Salle at the Teïoïagon-Lake Simcoe portage.

The date is an inference. La Salle left Fort Frontenac for this portage on or after August 24; this journey took about a week. At Teïoïagon, he wrote the letter which has been dated the autumn, 1681. At the end of this letter he told his correspondent: "Nous avions résolu de faire cet automne le voyage à la mer, mais celuy de Montréal m'a tellement retardé que je ne sçay si nous le pourrons. J'appréhende bien mesme qu'il ne me fasse manquer de renvoyer à M. Plet tout ce que je luy avois promis, *ayant esté arresté icy ou je vous escris cette lettre, à Teioiagon quinze jours pour faire le portage de mes hardes,* et les Sauvages ayant esté quasy touts pris de la fievre et la pluspart de mes gens. . . ." Margry, II, 158. Bernou had this letter as well as that of August 22, written at Fort Frontenac; yet when at the beginning of 1683, he composed the so-called *Relation officielle* of the journey to the Gulf, he wrote: "Le sieur de la Salle s'embarqua sur le lac Taronto . . . à la fin du mois d'aoust de l'année 1681." MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 28.

1681 First part of October.—La Salle at Michilimackinac.

The date and the place are inferences. Coming from Georgian Bay and heading for the St. Joseph River, La Salle could hardly avoid the post. The inference is corroborated by the Relation of Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 549. Margry printed this relation, I, 547-570, from a copy in a three volume set of manuscripts in the possession of a bookseller, Leon Techener; the text was reprinted with a page for page English translation by M. B. Anderson, *Relation of the Discovery of the Mississippi River written from the Narrative of Nicolas de la Salle, otherwise known as the little M. de la Salle,* Chicago, 1898. There is another version of this relation in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago; cf. R. L. Butler, *A Check List of Manuscripts,* Chicago, 1937, 35. If the Techener copy was faithfully reproduced by Margry, a comparison of the two versions reveals several omissions in that which the latter printed. For the rest the variants consist mainly in spelling, capitalization, etc. The chronology is not very reliable; nearly all the dates are said to be "the day after." The specific dates which can be accepted will be pointed out. It must also be said that internal evidence shows the relation to have been abridged by the first copyist.

1681 December 19.—La Salle arrives at the mouth of the St. Joseph River.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 593. "M. de la Salle joined us in December," according to II Tonti, Kellogg, 296. La Salle's autograph fragment—it lacks both the beginning and the end—in Margry, II, 164, begins with these words: ". . . un peu avant Noel"; the place is the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Bernou, in the *Relation officielle,* MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 28, has "toward the beginning of November." The correct dates of this official report are taken from the letter of Tonti of July 23, 1682, from that of Father Membré of June 3, 1682, and from the *procès-verbaux* of La Métairie. A letter from a Recollect, written from St. Bonaventure Island, August 14, 1682, is a summary with errors of transcription of Father Membré's letter. Thus, December 16, is given as the date of La Salle's at the mouth of the St. Joseph River. Owing to the loss of the beginning of La Salle's letter mentioned above, the route followed when he left Michilimackinac for the southern shore of Lake Michigan can only be surmised, but it seems probable that the expedition took the west shore route.

1681 December 28.—La Salle leaves the mouth of the St. Joseph River for Chicago; he followed on foot the south shore of Lake Michigan.

La Salle's autograph fragment, Margry, II, 165. The second *procès-verbal* of La Métairie, *ibid.,* 186, has December 27; the same date is given in Tonti's letter dated Michilimackinac, July 22, 1682, BN, Clairambault, 1016:165v-168v, printed in French and English in oppo-

site column, M. A. Habig, *The Franciscan Père Marquette,* New York, 1934, 215-229.

1682 Before January 6.—La Salle at Chicago.
La Salle's autograph fragment, Margry, II, 166.

1682 January 6.—La Salle joins Tonti and the rest of his men on the Des Plaines River.
Ibid.; Tonti's letter, Habig, 215, has January 4; I Tonti, Margry, I, 593, January 14.

1682 January 10 and 11.—Somewhere down the Des Plaines.
La Salle's autograph fragment, Margry, II, 169. These are the last two dates given in the document.

1682 January 25.—The expedition assembled at Pimiteoui.
La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 187.

1682 February 6-13.—The expedition stopped one week at the mouth of the Illinois River.
Ibid., and Tonti's letter, Habig, 216.

1682 February 14.—At the Tamaroa village on the east bank of the Mississippi.
La Métairie second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 187; Tonti's letter, Habig, 216; I Tonti, Margry, I, 596.

1682 February 24-March 3.—These days were spent in the vicinity of Memphis, searching for Pierre Prud'homme.
La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 187; Tonti's letter, Habig, 216.

1682 March 3.—Having found Prud'homme, they resume their way southward.
Tonti's letter, Habig, 217; I Tonti, Margry, I, 598.

1682 March 12.—The first Quapaw (Arkansas) village is sighted.
La Métairie's first and second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 182, 189; Membré's letter, *ibid.,* 207, has March 13.

1682 March 13-14.—First taking of possession of the country by La Salle, in the Arkansas village.
La Métairie's first *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 183-185, second *procès-verbal, ibid.,* 189. Tonti's letter, Habig, 218, has March 14 only. "C'estoit dans le mois de Mars que cela se passoit," Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 554.

1682 [March 17].—The expedition leaves the last Arkansas village.

The date is an inference from the second *procès-verbal* of La Métairie, Margry, II, 189. The date given in Membré's letter, by Margry, II, 209, is an addition of the editor, there is a blank space in the manuscript, BN, Clairambault, 1016:209.

1682 March 20.—Arrival at the Taensa villages.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 189; the same date is implied in II Tonti, Kellogg, 300; they left March 22 according to these two sources. In Tonti's letter, Habig, 218, and in I Tonti, Margry, I, 600, the expedition is said to have arrived on March 22.

1682 March 26.—La Salle visits the Natchez village.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 220-221; cf. I Tonti, Margry, I, 602-603.

1682 March 27.—Arrival at the Koroa village.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 221. According to II Tonti, Kellogg, 301, they camped at the mouth of the Red River on this day.

1682 March 29.—The expedition leaves the Koroa village.

Tonti's letter, Habig, 221; I Tonti, Margry, I, 604.

1682 April 3.—Opposite the Quinipissa village, on the river.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 190; Tonti's letter, Habig, 222, has April 2.

1682 April 6.—The expedition reaches the head of the passes of the Mississippi.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 190; Tonti's letter, Habig, 222; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605.

1682 April 7.—The expedition reaches the Gulf of Mexico.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 190; Membré's letter, *ibid.,* 211; Tonti's letter, Habig, 222; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605; II Tonti, Kellogg, 302.

1682 April 9.—Near present-day Venice, Louisiana, La Salle takes possession of the Mississippi Valley in the name of the King of France.

La Métairie's second *procès-verbal,* Margry, II, 191; Tonti's letter, Habig, 223; La Salle's letter to La Barre, Margry, II, 313; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605; Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 562. The last annalist shows here a complete detachment from chronology. Page 563, he gives April 10, the correct date when the expedition began the ascent of the Mississippi. Several days before, however, when they were still near the Tangipahoa village, he has: "C'estoit la fin de la semaine *sainte,* vers le 15 Avril 1682." The omission of the word *sainte* in the Margry version leaves two chronological mistakes instead of three; the expedition reached the Tangipahoa village not at the end of Holy Week, but at the end of Easter Week; April 15, 1682, was not the

end of the week, it was the Wednesday of the second week after Easter.

1682 April 10.—Beginning of the return journey.

Membré's letter, Margry, II, 211; letter from St. Bonaventure Island, *ibid.*, 205; I Tonti, Margry, I, 605; Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 563.

1682 [April 16].—The expedition reaches the Tangipahoa village.

This date, an inference from the text of Nicolas de la Salle, seems the more acceptable one. He wrote: "Le lendemain 10 Avril, 1682, on alla cabaner à quatre lieues [from the place where La Salle had taken possession of Louisiana] en pays noyé. Il l'estoit plus qu'à l'ordinaire à cause du dégel du nord. Ayant navigué sept jours [hence April 16], on arriva au village détruit." Margry, I, 563. Tonti's letter, Habig, 224, has April 12, and I Tonti, Margry, I, 605, April 14. Both dates are probably erroneous; it is difficult to believe that, if the first date is taken, it took less time to ascend the Mississippi when the river was high than to descend it; if the second date is adopted, it would have taken them only one day more to cover the same distance upstream as downstream. According to these two sources, they left this village on April 16, after having spent several days.

1682 May 3.—The expedition leaves the Taensa villages; but La Salle takes the lead with three canoes.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 610-611; no date is given in Tonti's letter, Habig, 227, and he speaks of only two canoes; Nicolas de la Salle, speaks of one canoe, Margry, I, 568. From the Tangipahoa village to the Taensa, the local and chronological sequences are hopelessly entangled. According to Tonti's letter, Habig, 227, they arrived at the Koroa village April 29 and left May 1. The same date of arrival is given in I Tonti, Margry, I, 608, but in this narrative, they are said to have arrived at the Taensa portage, April 30. Cf. the charts in Mid-America, XXII, 1940, 37-38. After they left the Koroa, "on alla aux Natché [on passa par un petit ruisseau que la Riviere fait, ce qui abrégea le chemin de 6 lieues, on cabana vis a vis les Natche] de l'autre costé de la rivière." Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 566, the words in brackets are not in Margry's version.

1682 May 17.—La Salle reaches the Arkansas.

Membré's letter, Margry, II, 211; St. Bonaventure Island letter, *ibid.*, 205.

1682 May 20.—Having heard a false report that Tonti who followed had been attacked and defeated, La Salle remained at the Arkansas village until this date. When Tonti arrived, the explorer again took the lead.

I Tonti, Margry, I, 611; cf. Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 568.

1682 June 2.—La Salle is joined by Tonti, one hundred leagues from the Illinois River.

"Mais [La Salle] ayant esté arresté de maladie, je le joignit le 2 Juin a cent lieues de la riviere des Ilinois, ou il me fit prendre le devant pour lever ses caches aux Miamis. . . ." Tonti's letter, Habig, 227. In his 1684 narrative, Tonti has: ". . . et le dernier May, estant arrivé au fort Prud'homme, je le vis attaqué d'une maladie mortelle." I Tonti, Margry, I, 611. In his narrative of 1690, he says: "From thence [Arkansas] he came to Fort Prudhomme,where M. de la Salle fell dangerously ill, which obliged him to send me forward, with five others, to arrange his affairs at Missilimakinak." II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. If Tonti joined La Salle in the vicinity of Memphis, the distance to the mouth of the Illinois River was 170 leagues. The date, June 2, is more likely correct, for the letter of Father Membré, dated June 3, reads: "Le prompt départ de M. de Tonty [m'oste] les moyens de vous escrire amplement." Margry, II, 206. In the same latter, the missionary seems to imply that La Salle fell ill at the Arkansas village, "à deux cents lieues de la mer, d'où je me donne l'honneur de vous escrire par la voye de M. de Tonti." *Ibid.,* 211. This was understood by the author of the résumé: "M. de la Salle y [Arkansas] tomba dangereusement malade." *Ibid.,* 205; the writer added: "mais il estoit hors de péril le 3^{e} juin, ne pouvant pas neantmoins souffrir encore le canotage." The narrative of Nicolas de la Salle seems to confirm the last statement. When they joined La Salle, the explorer was still very ill, but was able to resume the journey north seven or eight days after the departure of Tonti, Margry, I, 569. La Salle's autograph letter written at Michilimackinac in October 1682 has: "J'ay esté attaqué, au retour, d'une maladie mortelle qui m'a tenu quarante jours depuis le 10 May." Margry, II, 288, but the manuscript, BN, Clairambault, 1016:148, has May 20; this was the date when he left the Arkansas. In his *placet* to La Barre, Margry, II, 311, dated October 5, 1682, La Salle says he was ill four months, cf. Margry, III, 31.

1682 [June 10-11].—La Salle leaves [the vicinity of present-day Memphis] for the North.

Nicolas de la Salle's narrative, Margry, I, 569. This and the following dates are inferences from this account. The chronicler had written that the expedition arrived at the Taensa village, June 1, 1682, one month later than the actual date. If, however, the day of Tonti's departure, June 3, is taken as a starting point, and considering the time necessary to cover the distance rowing upstream, Nicolas de la Salle's chronology for this section of the return journey is not improbable.

1682 [June 27].—Arrival at the Tamaroa village.
Ibid., 569.

1682 [June 29].—At the mouth of the Illinois River.
Ibid., 569.

1682 [July 12].—Arrival at Fort Crèvecoeur.
Ibid., 569.

1682 July 15.—Arrival at the Illinois village.
Ibid., 569. This date is given by Nicolas de la Salle.

1682 After July 15.—La Salle leaves the Illinois village for the St. Joseph River *via* Chicago.
Ibid., 569. In the *Relation officielle,* MID-AMERICA, XXII, 1940, 35, Bernou places La Salle's arrival at the St. Joseph River "vers le mois de September."

1682 September.—La Salle arrives at Michilimackinac.
II Tonti, Kellogg, 304. The route followed by La Salle from the St. Joseph River to the post in the north is not known.

1682 October 3 to [November?].—La Salle at Michilimackinac.
Margry, I, 430; II, 303, 310-311. La Salle's autograph letter signed, Margry, II, 288 ff., was written here.

1682 December 2.—La Salle at the St. Joseph River.
Land grant made on this day to Michel Disy, facsimile facing p. 24, in Girouard, *Lake St. Louis;* printed and translated in Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations,* 42-44. December 2, 1683, is when Disy deposited the deed with Antoine Adhémar, the royal notary.

1682 December 30.—La Salle joins Tonti in the Illinois country.
I Tonti, Margry, I, 613.

1683 January-May.—La Salle, at Starved Rock, builds Fort St. Louis.
La Salle to La Barre, April 2, 1683, Margry, II, 312; I Tonti, Margry, I, 613; II Tonti, Kellogg, 305; Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations,* 19; Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 570.

1683 June 4.—La Salle at Chicago.
La Salle to La Barre, Margry, II, 317.

1683 After June 4.—La Salle returns to Fort St. Louis.
Id. to *id., ibid.,* 328.

1683 August 11.—La Salle at Fort St. Louis.
Land grant to Pierre Prud'homme, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations,* 28.

1683 After August 11.—La Salle leaves Fort St. Louis.

Tonti does not specify the day, he merely says in August, I Tonti, Margry, I, 613; in his second memoir he gives September, II Tonti, Kellogg, 305.

1683 September 1.—La Salle at Chicago.

Letter of La Salle to the inhabitants of Fort St. Louis, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations,* 36.

1683 November 2-11.—La Salle in Quebec.

Margry, I, 431-432; III, 35-36; MID-AMERICA, XXI, 1939, 305. Only two points of La Salle's route of his last journey in New France after he left Chicago, are known: Michilimackinac, Pease and Werner, *The French Foundations,* 37. Cf. Margry, II, 338, III, 33, and Fort Frontenac, Margry, III, 35. From Chicago to Michilimackinac, it is probable that he followed the west shore of Lake Michigan, and that he went from Michilimackinac to Fort Frontenac by way of Lake Simcoe-Teïoïagon, a route which he knew well.

1683 Between November 12 and November 22.—La Salle leaves Quebec for France.

La Salle's last promissory note is dated Quebec, November 11, 1683, Margry, I, 431; the ships sailed before November 22, *Jugements et délibérations,* II, 907, 910. "Ils [La Salle and Nicolas de la Salle] arrivèrent à Quebec le 13 November 1682 [*i. e.,* 1683]." Nicolas de la Salle, Margry, I, 570. La Salle arrived at Quebec before November 13; this is probably the date when the ships weighed anchor.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History
Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comment

UNDERSTANDING HISPANIC AMERICA: SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The past few years, due to recent overseas developments, have witnessed a great revival of efforts toward Western Hemisphere solidarity. Among other revitalized pan-American activities there has been a noticeable increase in the publications of literature concerning Hispanic America. It is hoped that this interest will continue, and not be permitted to become identified only with abnormal times. Articles aimed to create a more sympathetic understanding between the United States and our southern neighbors have been appearing in a number of popular and professional journals where normally they would not be found (*e. g.,* "Cultural Heritages with the Spanish American Republics," *Journal of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars,* XV (July 1940), 354-366). Literature on our economic relations with the Hispanic American republics is no longer hard to find in current publications. The bookstands throughout the country contain an increased number of South American travel books. There has been a bumper crop of books about the Spanish Southwest, predominantly of the popular variety. We have been overwhelmed with a plethora of one-volume histories of Hispanic America, brief and long, some designed for "the average responsible United States citizen who tries to learn what he ought to know about South America," and others college textbooks.

From this maze of literature a number of recent essays and articles in which an attempt is made to survey and evaluate the civilization of Hispanic America deserve more than passing notice. *The Civilization of the Americas,* Berkeley, 1938, contains the following six papers: L. B. Simpson, "New Lamps for Old in Latin America"; R. L. Beals, "The Emergence of Latin American Culture"; H. I. Priestly, "Four Centuries of Growth in the Americas"; C. L. Alsberg, "The Economic Position of Latin America"; M. P. González, "Intellectual Relations Between the United States and Spanish America"; R. H. Fitzgibbon, "The Rôle of Latin America in World Politics." *Concerning Latin American Culture,* New York, 1940, consists of the following eleven papers: B. M. Cherrington, "Cultural Relations of the United States in the Western World"; R. F. Pattee, "The Crossways of the Americas"; F. de los Ríos, "Spain in the Epoch of American Colonization," and "The Action of Spain in America"; G. Freyre, "Some Aspects of the Social Development of Portuguese America"; C. C. Griffin, "The Significance of Native Indian Culture in Hispanic America"; N. Weyl, "Mexico, European and Native"; W. Berrien, "Some Considerations Regarding Contemporary Latin American Mu-

sic"; R. C. Smith, "Brazilian Art"; C. R. James, "Spanish American Literature and Art"; A. Labarca Hubertson, "Educational Developments in Latin America." In both volumes the papers vary considerably in merit, but they afford a diversity of approach to the subject and a variety in their value judgments that are stimulating.

The series of articles on the rôle of Catholic culture in the Hispanic American republics, appearing currently in *The Catholic Historical Review,* XXV (January and April *et seq.,* 1940), should be read in conjunction with the above mentioned essays, which were not intended to discuss specifically the dominant aesthetic and religious influences that have given so much of the form and substance to the republics south of us. These papers are scheduled for publication in a separate volume in 1941. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CCIV (July 1939), contains twenty-one articles on the general topics of "Democracy and the Americas," "The Democracies on the Defensive," "What Do the Americas Need," and "The Lima Conference and the Future of Pan-Americanism." These articles are subjective in character, and primarily concerned with present-day ideologies and *machtpolitik.* Other recent literature on the same general theme worthy of mention are the four papers included in the *Principal Addresses, Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education, Washington, D. C., November 9 and 10, 1939,* Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1939; Herbert E. Bolton, "Some Cultural Assets of Latin America," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* XX (February 1940), 3-11; the dozen articles in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, Commemorative Issue, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Pan-American Union, April, 1940;* and *Foreign Policy Reports,* XV, nos. 10, 18, 23 (August 1 and December 1, 1939, February 15, 1940), and XVI, no. 10 (August 1940). The most unique contribution to the general topic was that of the weekly news magazine *Time,* July 15, 1940, p. 25: "The only things the Spaniards gave the Indians were small pox, influenza and tuberculosis."

Three recent books of interest on the Spanish missions of the Southwest are: George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico, In the Colonial Period and since the American Occupation,* The Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, 1940, 232 pp.; *Mission San Xavier del Bac, Arizona, A descriptive and historical guide,* New York, 1940, 57 pp.; and Maude Robson Gunthrop, *With a Sketch Book Along the Old Mission Trail,* Caldwell, Idaho, 1940, 147 pp. Kubler's volume is a scholarly contribution, whereas the others are of a popular nature. All are copiously illustrated.

J. Lloyd Mecham published an excellent paper, "Mexican Federalism—Fact or Fiction," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for March 1940. The trend toward dictatorship and the instruments created and operating at present to per-

petuate the Mexican absolutism of the present is traced. His conclusion is that there is no hope for democracy in Mexico.

"The Economic Regime of the Jesuit Missions in Eighteenth Century Sonora," by Theodore E. Treutlein, appeared in *The Pacific Historical Review* for September 1939. The paper is based chiefly upon Father Pfefferkorn's description of the manner in which the frontier mission functioned from 1756 to 1767. It is time for others to follow Dr. Treutlein's lead in pointing out that there was nothing wrong with making the natives work reasonably hard to support themselves and their missions. The missions generally were so well run that they became the objects first of the envy then of the greed of the rising middle class.

The *Revista de Historia de America,* published in Mexico by the Instituto Pan Americano de Geografía e Historia, now in its eighth number, carries easily the most complete general bibliography of current books and periodical literature on Hispanic American history to be found. It takes on the character of a current supplement to the annually published *Handbook of Latin American Studies.*

Of particular interest to Americanists is the article "Padre José de Acosta (1540-1600)," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* for January-June 1940. In this Father León Lopetegui, S. J., straightens out the chronological anarchy existing among authors regarding dates in the life of Acosta who gave up a chair of theology in Spain to become a missionary in Peru. As a missionary, as rector of the Jesuit college in Lima, as provincial of the Jesuits in Peru, Acosta was in good vantage points for the observations which he made in his celebrated *Historia natural y moral de las Indias,* published in Seville in 1590 and later translated into various European tongues.

J. M. Espinosa

VARIA

Chicagoans, even those who do not wish to make history a hobby, are indeed passing up an opportunity for healthy, profitable, and enjoyable reading if they neglect the quarterly *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society.* This State and its people have played an important rôle in national progress; its past has been told in books; phases of its development and the characters involved are constantly appearing in the *Journal.* As an example the June 1940 number contains "Streeterville Saga," by Kenneth F. Broomell and Harlow M. Church, the story of Captain George Wellington Streeter, who for thirty years "claimed, by right of original discovery, the fabulously valuable 186-acre tract of land running from the river north to Lincoln Park and from Michigan Boulevard east to Lake Michigan—the area which now comprises the better part of Chicago's famed Gold Coast."

The article is abundantly illustrated with pictures of "Cap" and the shotgun which he used to defend his claims. Other pages contain "The Story of an Ordinary Man," by Paul M. Angle, editor of the *Journal.* This is a series of letters of one William H. Tebbetts, written to members of his family in New Hampshire from 1853 to 1862, and edited by Mr. Angle with a brief introduction. "We honor John Deere as the inventor of the steel plow, but we pay scant attention to thousands who used his plow to turn the matted prairies into fertile farms." Tebbetts' life as plowman, merchant, school-teacher, and soldier is unfolded in the letters, until he "was strucked by a ball . . . and knocked down on the last day of the fight" for Fort Donaldson.

In the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for April 1939, recently issued, the greater number of the 205 pages are given over to two monographs that have to be catalogued under Latin American affairs. Samuel Flagg Bemis writes the first, "Early Diplomatic Missions from Buenos Aires to the United States 1811-1824," in the competent and scholarly manner so characteristic of his works on international relations. The other monograph is a reprint in French of the work of Father Adolphe Cabon, "Un Siecle et Demi de Journalisme en Haïti." Father Cabon went from France to Haiti in 1895 and returned to France in 1919. He was rector of the Séminaire Saint-Martial at Port-au-Prince for the last ten years of his stay. During his final six months on the island Father Cabon contributed his study of journalism week by week to a small, mimeographed magazine called the *Petite Revue Hebdomaire.* There is perhaps only one complete file of this *Revue* extant, we are told by Clarence S. Brigham who writes the introduction in the *Proceedings.* Many of the island printers and publishers described by Cabon emigrated to the United States in 1792-1794, and hence the reprinting of the notable history of Haitian journalism comes within the scope of the Antequarian Society's publications.

An exceptionally well-written article by Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin entitled "Some Aspects of the Know-Nothing Movement Reconsidered," appeared in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* for April 1940. A survey analysis is made of the Know-Nothings as political pawns. The "nativists" or "Americans" were in great part made up of scheming politicians who invented rabble-rousing accusations against Catholics and fostered racial hatred and intolerance for political gain. Since the Catholics offered no particular reason for the attacks in their actions, clearly Know-Nothingism, A. P. Aism, and Ku Klux Klanism have enlisted a great amount of insincere members.

Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Hawaii 1885-1889, by Charles Callan Tansill, is the first monograph in the historical series of the *Fordham University Studies.* Such studies, the results of the research of the faculty members, are to appear "from time to

time as independent essays without pretence at periodical publication." The monograph in 53 pages has ample documentary citations and a good bibliography, and, over and above its timeliness because of the present Japanese position in Far East affairs, is a valuable contribution to the historical writings on the relations between Hawaii and the United States.

Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina, by John Harold Wolfe, appears as the first number of volume 24 of *The James Sprunt Studies* in history and political science published at the University of North Carolina. It is a cautiously scholarly work in 286 pages, the outcome of long research carefully delimited. "Throughout the study an effort has been made to show how Jeffersonian Democracy affected South Carolina; but, in order to maintain a proper perspective, a large portion of the discussion has centered around the part that South Carolinians played in the developments which concerned the whole nation" (p. 286).

The *Report 1938-1939 of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association* has a number of articles in both the English and French sections which are of concern especially to people of the Commonwealth. Some of the papers have wider significance, as for instance, the one by Right Reverend Donald R. Macdonald, D. P., on "The Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, D. D., First Bishop of Upper Canada," and that by the Reverend Brother Alfred on "Francis Collins, First Catholic Journalist in Upper Canada."

Several new periodicals have recently begun publication. *The American Catholic Sociological Review* under the editorship of Ralph A. Gallagher, S. J., first appeared in March of 1940 as the quarterly of the American Catholic Sociological Society. *The Pamphleteer,* a monthly containing categorical lists of new pamphlets, commenced in May of this year. A modest beginning was made by *The Pan American* in its April-June number. The purpose of the magazine, which is soon to be a monthly, is to foster and cement inter-American good will. *Pan American News,* a bi-weekly information service published by the Foreign Policy Association of Washington appeared in mimeograph form on February 1, 1940.

Book Reviews

Dictionary of American History. Prepared under the General Editorship of James Truslow Adams and R. V. Coleman. Five Volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1940. Pp. 444, 430, 432, 512, 515.

After four years of collaborative effort on the part of more than a thousand scholars there comes to light the *Dictionary of American History.* The five volumes total up to 2,333 pages in double columns containing 6,425 separate articles on colonial and republican United States history beginning alphabetically with the A. B. Plot and ending with Zwaanendael. Moreover, an index volume now in preparation is promised before the end of the year. This collection of factual, concisely, and objectively written articles entailed no end of thought and discussion as to policy, painstaking editorial labor, skillful planning, careful assignments of topics to a qualified writing corps, judicious allotment of space for the respective articles, sifting and exclusion of local items, and adoptions of the general topics for special treatment. James Truslow Adams in the foreword describes the method of procedure of the Advisory Council and scope and purpose of the work, and indicates a method of reading continuously and widely through the volumes by following the meticulous cross references, so that broader knowledge of the development of the United States may be obtained.

The principal claim to public attention made by the publishers of this work is its usefulness to a great number of readers as a ready reference set. Undoubtedly for some of the indolent it will be a whole library. To questions about facts it gives answers which otherwise might not be found without extensive research. In this respect busy editors, journalists, and reference librarians will bless its advent. It puts in concise form the results of many years of research throughout this country and knowledge unavailable in general libraries and inaccessible to many students concerning specific American trends, events, places, names, systems and institutions of all kinds, industries, commerce, religions, policies, foreign relations, and so forth. Thus, it supplements the biographical sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography* and approximates the latter in style and format.

While the work must prove to be of great utility in general there will be inevitably criticisms from individual sources and from individual dissenters. Nearly all of the critics will be refuted by arguments from the pro side. No one can deny, however, that the purpose of the work has been achieved and the ideal aimed at accomplished. It must be remembered that this is a dictionary type of writing where color must be subordinated in briefly stated paragraphs. Carping will not

come because of the treatises on economics, mathematics, chemistry, government, fisheries, and such, but rather because too little space has been given to one or other item of local or individual interest. For instance, some will not agree with the description of The Bible, because it is narrowed down to the English translation and its influence on religion or morals in this country, beginning in fact where most accounts in encyclopedias leave off. Opinions, too, will vary as to the reason for giving Baseball about the same space as Colleges and Universities. Controversial subjects are bound to cause controversy, but it seems to this reviewer that more arguments will be settled than started by the use of the *Dictionary of American History*. Professors in colleges who desire their students to read books will not take to this ready method of getting information without following the prescribed reading lists. Some scholars may term the bibliographies appended to the articles as popular or secondary, and the editors will refer to the foreword for an explanation. All in all, the *Dictionary of American History* is useful, informative, and necessary for the library.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755. (Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XXIX, French Series, Vol. II.) Edited with Introduction and Notes by Theodore C. Pease and Ernestine Jenison. Springfield, Illinois, 1940. Pp. lii+977.

This thick volume of nearly one thousand pages, half of it in the original French and the other half in English translation, gives as nearly complete a picture as can be had of the Illinois country during the eight years immediately preceding the war that was to decide the fate of the French Empire in North America. The notes identify the personages, great or small, "who labored to maintain the cause of France in the West." The introduction sums up the situation. The then existing posts in the Illinois country are listed, as well as the Indian tribes that were to play a part in the final struggle for Illinois and the interior. The cause of the Indian menace, it is pointed out, was the English trader, who was not told by bureaucrats four thousand miles away "where he should buy his goods and where and for what price he should sell his furs." The few pages opposing the methods of the English trader to those of the French in their dealing with the Indians set forth briefly, but luminously, a state of affairs which had prevailed for more than a century. By 1750 no change in the French method could have been expected. Instead of being given free scope, the French merchants were hampered from every quarter, by the Minister in Paris and by officials down to the pettiest commandant in a remote outpost in the wilderness. To put the matter colloquially, in these conditions the French did not have a chance. The only marvel is how they were able to hold out so long against their English competitors. This post-

ponement of the inevitable outcome is the history of the Anglo-French half-century struggle for supremacy in North America. The introduction also presents the French actors, La Galissonnière, "the ablest man to rule New France in the eighteenth century," and, we may add, probably the ablest man ever sent to govern the colony; Vaudreuil, the last governor general, who was governor of Louisiana during these years; among lesser worthies, Céloron de Blainville, the Chevalier de Bertet, Charles de Raymond, the commandant of the Illinois country, Macarty, who, "sometimes one judges in his cups, was dictating long and confused dispatches to Vaudreuil."

"This story could not have been told one-tenth as well as it has been, were it not for the papers of the Marquis de Vaudreuil which are in the Loudoun Papers in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California." These, say the editors in the preface, throw "a great light on conditions in Illinois and in the West generally where heretofore there was deep darkness." The thirty-three documents from this heretofore little known source are supplemented by papers in the Public Record Office, by letters to or from officials in Canada and Louisiana, not a few of which have been exploited by historians and students of the period. The letters from the French official archives are not always printed in full; the editors have selected those passages which treat directly of the Illinois country. As in the other two volumes of the French series, the French text is on the upper half of the page, the English on the lower. The three volumes of the French series edited by Dr. Pease and his collaborators provide the student with ample material for a new interpretation of ninety years of French exploitation of the Illinois country.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

INDEX

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXII

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed. Clerical titles and titles of honor are found only when the forename is lacking.

Abraham Lincoln Sees Peoria, publication of noted, 144-45
Adams, James Truslow, and Coleman, R. V. (eds.), *Dictionary of American History,* revd., 311-12
Adams, John, 245
Adams, Samuel, 245, 249, 253
Alarcón, Martín de, 40, note
Albany Congress, 244
Alcalá, University of, 158-61, 162, 167
Alegre, Francisco, 186
Alfonso VI, King, 265
Allen, Colonel, 259
American Catholic Sociological Review, publication of noted, 310
American Revolution, propaganda in, 243-61
Anduze, Aristides, 117
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, contents of noted, 307
Another American Revolution, noted, 144
Anunciata Congregation, 187
Apache Indians, 46, 49, 53-54, 270, 276
Aquaviva, Claude, 81, 183
Araoz, Antonio, 163
Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, contents of noted, 308
Austin, H., 101
Avellaneda, Father, 185
Báez, Francisco, 189
Baillet, Adrien, 91-92, 217
Bancroft, H. H., 262, 263
Baptist church, 105, 108, 110, 116
Barclay, R., 251
Bazán, Father, 174
Beacon on the Plains, by M. P. Fitzgerald, revd., 150-51
Benes, Eduard, *Democracy Today and Tomorrow,* revd., 146-47
Benoit, Mrs., 115
Benton, Thomas Hart, 97
Bernou, Claude, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15-16, 17, 18-27
Bibliographie Instructive, 219
Bibliotheca Thuana, 214
Bibliotheca Universalis, 216
Billon, Frederic L., 101
Birth of America, publication of noted, 145
Boismare, A. L., 4
Bordier, J., 280
Borgia, Francis, 162, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170-71, 173
Boston Gazette, propaganda in during American Revolution, 249
Boston Tea Party, 249, 250
Bouilliaud, Ismael, 214, 215, 219, 220
Bourdon, J., Sieur d'Autray, 8
Bozale Indians, 50
Brackenridge, Henry Marie, 102, 117
Briet, Philippi, 83, 92
Brunet, Jacques-Charles, 215, 217-18, 219, 220
Budé, Guillaume, 80
Buenaventura de Olivares, Francisco, 40, note
Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, contents of noted, 307
Burgoyne, John, 255
Cajetan, Cardinal, 185
"A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," by JEAN DELANGLEZ, 278-305
Caltzontzín, Pedro, 179
Campos, Agustín de, 135
Canadian-American Relations 1840-1847, publication of noted, 143
Carleton, General, 255, 256
Casa Profesa, 183-85, 186-87, 188
Casaubon, Isaac, 82-83
Castañeda, Carlos E., 38; his *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. Vol. IV: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782,* revd., 70-71

Catholic Church in Louisiana, publication of noted, 227-30
Catholic Historical Review, contents of noted, 307
Catholic Library Problems, by W. KANE, revd., 71-72
Catholic Seminary, 117
Cattle, decline of in missions of Texas, 46-48, 52-54
Cavelier, Jean, 18, 22, 25, 278
Cepeda, Alonzo Sánchez de, 266
Cepeda, Antonia de, 266
Charbonneau, Jean Baptiste, 110, 113
Charbonneau, Toussaint, 110, 113
Charles II, King, 267
Charles V, Emperor, 265
Charless, Joseph, 96
Charlevoix, P. F. X. de, 224
Chastel, Jean, 78
Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón, by S. de Madariaga, revd., 148-49
Christy, Major, 102
Civilization of the Americas, publication of noted, 306
Clark, John Willis, 86, 93
Clark, William, 110
Classification of libraries, 75-95, 191-222
Clémont, Claude, 215
Clémont, Nicolas, 215, 220
Clermont, College of, 75, 77-95, 192, 214, 218, 221
Code, Joseph Bernard, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy,* revd., 235-36
Code for Classifiers, 196
Colbert, J. B., 12, 14, 81
Colegio Máximo, 177, 181, 182, 186, 187, 190
Coleman, R. V., co-editor, see Adams, James Truslow
College Louis-le-Grand, 79, 89
College of Clermont, 75, 77-95, 192, 214, 218, 221
College of La Flèche, 79, 83
College of Lima, 169
College of Puebla, 181, 182-83
College of Rheims, 83, 93
College of San Bernardo, 179
College of San Gregorio, 163, 179
College of San Miguel, 179
Comanche Indians, 52-53
Compendium Logicae Aristotelicae, 84
Concerning Latin American Culture, publication of noted, 306
Congregación del Salvador, 187, 188-89
Continental Congress, 249, 260
Contreras, María Margarita de, 266
Cooper, Rev., 253, 254
Coronado, Francisco, 264
Coronado Cuarto Centennial, commemoration of noted, 143
Coronado Library, University of New Mexico, 263
Coronelli, M. V., 15, 22-23
Cossart, Gabriel, 83, 84, 92
Council of Trent, 165, 266
Countryman, Frederic, 224
Courcelle, Daniel de Rémy, sieur de, 284
Cozens, Horatio, 115
Cubero, Pedro Rodríguez, 275, 276
Curiel, Juan, 162, 179
Cusake, Michael, 105
Cutter, Charles Ammi, 221
DABBS, J. AUTREY (tr.), "The Texas Missions in 1785," 38-58
Dablon, Claude, 225
D'Allonne, Madeleine de Roybon, ancestry of noted, 59-61
Dautray, see Bourdon
Dávila, Gil González, 166
Dawes, Charles G., *A Journal of Reparations,* revd., 66-67
De Bure, Guillaume, 219
De Bure, Guillaume-François, 219
De Madariaga, Salvador, *Christopher Columbus: Being the Life of the Very Magnificent Lord Don Cristóbal Colón,* revd., 148-49
Deák, Francis, co-author, see Shotwell, James T.
"Death Site of Father Marquette," by G. J. GARRAGHAN (ed.), 223-25
Declaration of Independence, 260
DELANGLEZ, JEAN, "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," 278-305; "La Salle's Expedition of 1682," 3-37; "La Salle's Fiancée: A Post-Script," 59; revs. Audet's *Les Premiers Etablissements Français au Pays des Illinois,* 226-27; Baudier's *The Catholic Church in New Orleans,* 227; Hammang's *The Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century,* 67-70; Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois,* 236-39; Pease and Jenison's (eds.) *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755,* 312-13; Pouliot's *Premiers Ouvriers de Nouvelle-France,* 226; Roy's *La Famille de la Porte de Louvigny,* 231; Roy's *Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec,* 231; Roy's *Inventaire des Papiers de Lery,* 231; Roy's *Rapport de l'Archiviste de Québec pour 1938-1939,* 232
Democracy Today and Tomorrow, by E. Benes, revd., 146-47

Desportes, Philippe, 80
Dewey, John, 75
Dewey, Melvil, 75, 221
Díaz, Pedro, 180, 185
Dictionary of American Biography, 263
Dictionary of American History, by J. T. Adams and R. V. Coleman (eds.), revd., 311-12
Dictionary of the American Hierarchy, by J. B. Code, revd., 235-36
Dies, François, 80
Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Hawaii 1885-1889, publication of noted, 309-10
Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, creation of noted, 144
Dollier de Casson, François, 283
Dollier-Galinée expedition, 282
Douay, Anastasius, 18, 25
Du Duc, Fronton, 82, 83, 84, 92
Du Puy, Jacques, 214
Du Puy, Pierre, 214
DuBourgh, Bishop, 110, 112, 117
Duprat, Guillaume, 77
Durocher, Mr., 107, 112
Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844), publication of noted, 143
Easton, Colonel, 113
Eighth American Scientific Congress, meeting of noted, 143-44
El Espíritu Santo de la Bahía, Mission of, 44-48, 49
El Paso, 262, 268-69, 270, 272
Enríquez, Martín, 157, 174, 176
Epitome Systematis Bibliographici, 218
Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene, by R. B. Morris (ed.), revd., 151-53
ESPINOSA, J. MANUEL, "New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico," 262-77; revs. De Madariaga's *Christopher Columbus,* 148-49
Exercicio de Perfeccion, 183
Fabri, Honoré, 215
Farfán, Francisco, 273
Faultrier, Joachim, 218
Fenn, Zeno, 115
Ferrary, Andreas, 117
First Establishment of the Faith, 9, 10-11, 12, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27
Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul, *Beacon on the Plains,* revd., 150-51
Flint, Timothy, 103-04
Florida, missions in, 168-69
Foreign Policy Reports, contents of noted, 307
Fouquet, Nicolas, 81
Fourché, Marie, 81
Franciscans, 38, 49-52, 262, 271
Franklin, Alfred, 86
Franklin, Benjamin, 244
French, William, 252
French empire in North America, books on noted, 226-33
French system of library classification, 216, 217, 219-21
Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Comte de Palluau et de, 4, 5, 6, 14, 286
Frontenac and the Jesuits, publication of noted, 142
Gage, Thomas, 253, 254, 255, 256
Galinée, René-François Bréhan de, 283
Gálvez, José de, 38
Garnier, Jean, 75-95, 191-222
GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. (ed.), "Death Site of Father Marquette," 223-25; revs. Fitzgerald's *Beacon on the Plains,* 150-51; McAllister's *In Winter We Flourish,* 234-35
Geest, Catherine, 279
George III, King, 251, 252
Gesner, Conrad, 216, 217
Giddings, Salmon, 101, 105-07, 117
GOODWIN, ENEAS B., revs. Sayre's *The Way Forward,* 62-64
Gratiot, J. P. B., 112
Gravier, G., 4, 8, 10, 15
Gueret, François, 78
Guibert, Henry, 116
Guignard, Jean, 78-79
Guyol, Francis M., 99, 117, 118
Habig, Rev. Marion A., 12-13, 15, 16, 17
HAMILTON, R. N., revs. Dawes' *A Journal of Reparations,* 66-67; Lockmiller's *Sir William Blackstone,* 149-50
Hammang, Francis H., *The Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century,* revd., 67-70
Harrisse, H., 9
Hennepin, Louis, 11, 12, 21, 26-27
Henry, Patrick, 245
Henry IV, King of Navarre, 78-79, 82, 93
Hispanic America, literature concerning noted, 306-08
Hispanic American Historical Review, contents of noted, 307
Historical Bulletin, contents of noted, 145
History of Arizona and New Mexico, 262
Holt's Journal, propaganda in during American Revolution, 256
Horne, Thomas Hartwell, 219
Hortigosa, Father, 179
Howe, General, 257

Hubbard, Gordon Saltonstall, 224-25
Hunt, George T., *The Wars of the Iroquois,* revd., 236-39
Hunt, Warren, 113-14
Hutchinson, Governor, 247, 250
Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755, by T. C. Pease and E. Jenison (eds.), revd., 312-13
In Winter We Flourish: Life and Letters of Sarah Worthington King Peter, by A. S. McAllister, revd., 234-35
Indians, 223, 224, 262, 268, 272-75
Indians, mission activities among, 177-78, 180, 181
Indians, missions of, 40
Institute of Mediaeval Studies, St. Michael's College, publications of noted, 143
Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec, publication of noted, 231-32
Inventaire des Papiers de Lery conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec, publication of noted, 231
JACOBSEN, JEROME V., "Pedro Sánchez, Founder of the Jesuits in New Spain," 157-90; revs. Adams and Coleman's (eds.) *Dictionary of American History,* 311-12; Castañeda's *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. Vol. IV: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782,* 70-71; Philbrick's (ed.) *Pope's Digest 1815,* 236; Shotwell and Deák's *Turkey at the Straits,* 239-40; Editor, Notes and Comment
"Jean Garnier, Librarian," by W. KANE, 75-95, 191-222
Jeffersonian Democracy in South Carolina, publication of noted, 310
Jémez, 272, 273
Jenison, Ernestine, co-editor, see Pease, Theodore C.
Jensen, Nicolas, 196
"The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician," by T. E. TREUTLEIN, 120-41
Jesuits, 75, 76, 77, 78-85, 89, 93-94, 105, 120-41, 217, 218
Jesuits in New Spain, 157-90
John III, King, 167
Journal of Reparations, by C. G. Dawes, revd., 66-67
Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, contents of noted, 308-09
Joutel, Henri, 9
Joyeuse, François, 80
KANE, W., "Jean Garnier, Librarian," 75-95, 191-222; revs. Code's *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy,* 235-36; Sargent's *Our Land and Our Lady,* 64-66; his *Catholic Library Problems,* revd., 71-72
KINIERY, PAUL, revs. Benes' *Democracy Today and Tomorrow,* 146-47
Kino, Eusebio, 135
La Barre, Joseph-Antoine Lefebvre, sieur de, 5, 14, 15
La Case, Mme., 111
La Famille De La Porte de Louvigny, publication of noted, 231
La Flèche, College of, 79, 83
La Grange, Angelique, 100
La Métairie, Jacques de, 3, 4
La Potherie, Claude-Charles Le Roy, sieur de Bacqueville de, 9
La Purísima Concepcion de Acuna, Mission of, 40-41
La Salle, Robert Cavelier, sieur de, 59-61, 278-305; his expedition of 1682, 3-37; charts of expedition, 36-37; travels of, 278-305
La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, 9, 10, 11
"La Salle's Expedition of 1682," by J. DELANGLEZ, 3-37
La Salle's fiancée, ancestry of noted, 59-61
Labbé, Philippe, 83
Laínez, Father James, General of the Jesuits, 163, 165
Lallemant, Charles, 80
Lallemant, Gabriel, 80
Lancastrian school, 102, 104
LANGFORD, WALTER M., revs. Shotwell's *What Germany Forgot,* 153-54
Lanuchi, Father, 179, 181
Laurent, Maurice, 118
Le Clercq, Chrestien, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17-18, 21, 22, 25
Le Favre, P., 115, 117
Le Saulnier, Father, 223
Lee, Henry S., 107
Lefebvre, Hyacinth, 3, 4, 5
Leroux, Valentin, 4, 26
Les Premiers Etablissements Français au Pays des Illinois, publication of noted, 226-27
Library history, 75-95, 191-222
Library of Congress, 263
Libro de Reyno de Dios, 183
Lima, College of, 169
Linzee, Captain, 255
Lipan Indians, 49
Lockmiller, David A., *Sir William Blackstone,* revd., 149-50
Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons, publication of noted, 142
López, Diego, 172
López, José Francisco, report of to

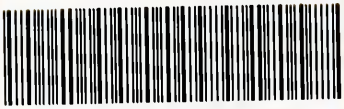
Bishop of Nuevo León, 38-58
López, Manuel, 161
Louis XIII, King of France, 80, 81
Louis XIV, King of France, 80, 81
Louis-le-Grand, College of, 79, 89
Louvain, University of, 84
Loyola, Ignatius, 162, 183-84
Luis de Rivera, Juan, 184
Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur des Livres, 217, 219
Manutius, Aldus, 216
Marahuitos Indians, 43, 44
Marchand, Prosper, 218
Margry, Pierre, 4, 9, 10, 11, 13
Marii Mercatoris, 84
Marquette, Jacques, 21, 223-25
Marquis de Vaudreuil. New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century, by F. H. Hammang, revd., 67-70
Martin, Gabriel, 218-19
Martin, John, 117
Martínez, Pedro, 168
Mazarin, Cardinal, 81, 86
McAllister, Anna Shannon, *In Winter We Flourish,* revd., 234-35
McDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS, "Private Schools in St. Louis, 1809-1821," 96-119
Membré, Zénobe, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10-11, 12-13, 14, 15-16, 17-19, 20, 21-22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 298
Mendoza, Juan de, 121
Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro, 168, 169, 170, 174
Mercurian, Father, 180, 181
Mercurio Volante, 271
METZGER, CHARLES H., "Propaganda in the American Revolution," 243-61; revs. Morris' (ed.) *The Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene,* 151-53
Mexico, Jesuit missions in, 172-90
Mexico City, establishment of Jesuit college in, 173-79
Milot, Jean, 282
Mission El Espíritu Santo de La Bahiá, 44-48, 49
Mission La Purísima Concepcion de Acuna, 40-41
Mission of Nuestra del Santísimo Rosario, 48-49
Mission San Antonio de Valero, 39-40, 41
Mission San Francisco de la Espada, 43-44
Mission San José de Aguayo, 41-43
Mission San Juan de Capistrano, 43, 49
Mission San Xavier del Bac, Arizona, publication of noted, 307
Mississippi River, descriptions of, 20-21, 23
Missouri Gazette, 96-97, 105, 108, 112, 114
Molina, Tirso de, 265
Monterrey, Conde de, 188
Montesclaros, Marqués de, 189
Morale pratique, 12
Morris, Richard B. (ed.), *The Era of the American Revolution. Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene,* revd., 151-53
MORTELL, JOHN T., revs. Kane's *Catholic Library Problems,* 71-72
Mouravit, Gustave, 93
Moya de Contreras, Pedro, 157, 179, 184
Nacogdoches, mission at, 48
Naudé, Gabriel, 215, 217
New Discovery, Hennepin's, 11, 12, 27
New England Chronicle, propaganda in during American Revolution, 257
New France, books on noted, 226-33
"New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico," by J. MANUEL ESPINOSA, 262-77
New Mexico, reconquest of, 262-77
New Spain, Jesuit missions in, 157-90
New York Gazette, propaganda in during American Revolution, 256
New York Packet, propaganda in during American Revolution, 258
Newport Mercury, propaganda in during American Revolution, 251, 254
Nichols, N. B., 101
Niebla, Señora Condesa de, 170
Niel, Francis, 112-13, 117
Nóbrega, Manuel da, 167, 170
North, Lord, 250
Nos coutumes et nos traditions françaises, publication of noted, 230-31
Nouveau Voyage, 26
Nouvelle Decouverte, 26
Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 164
Nuestra Senora del Santísimo Rosario, Mission of, 48-49
Oaxaca, college at, 179
Ohio River, location of, 22, 23
Oliva, J. P., 280
Oñate, Juan de, 264
Otis, James, 245
Ottawa Indians, 223, 224
Oudin, François, 84, 91, 92
Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 38
Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. Vol. IV: The Passing of the Missions, 1762-1782, by C. E. Castañeda, revd., 70-71
Our Land and Our Lady, by D. Sargent, revd., 64-66

Pacao Indians, 44
Pacific Historical Review, contents of noted, 308
Paine, Thomas, 245, 258
Pamphleteer, publication of noted, 310
Pan American, publication of noted, 310
Pan American News, publication of noted, 310
Paredes, Conde de, 267
Paris, University of, 78, 79
Parkman, Francis, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16
Pasquier, Étienne, 78
Pátzcuaro, establishment of Jesuit college in, 179
Paul III, Pope, 161
Paxalaches Indians, 41
Paxton, Editor, 117
Pease, Theodore C., and Jenison, Ernestine (eds.), *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755,* revd., 312-13
Peck, John Mason, 105, 108, 109-10
"Pedro Sánchez, Founder of the Jesuits in New Spain," by J. V. JACOBSEN, 157-90
Peignot, Etienne Gabriel, 219
Pelagian heresy, 84
Peñalosa, Diego de, 19
Pennsylvania Journal, propaganda in during American Revolution, 248
Perdreauville, Marie Antoinette Adèle, 107, 111-12
Perera, Nicolas, 135
Perrot, Nicolas, 284
Peru, Jesuit Province of, 168
Pescay, Angelique La Grange, 99-101
Petau, Denis, 83, 84, 92
Pfefferkorn, Ignaz, 120-41
Philbrick, Francis S. (ed.), *Pope's Digest 1815,* revd., 236
Philip II, King, 168, 170, 172, 174-75, 182, 265
Philip III, King, 265
Philippine Islands, mission activities in, 179, 182
Physician, Jesuit missionary as, 120-41
Pius IV, Pope, 175
Plaza, Juan de la, 180-81, 182
Ponce de León, Pedro, 266
Pope's Digest 1815, by F. S. Philbrick (ed.), revd., 236
Possevino, Antonio, 215
Prado, Beatriz Pimentel de, 267
Premiers Ouvriers de Nouvelle-France, publication of noted, 226
Prescott, Colonel, 259
Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina, publication of noted, 142
Principal Addresses, Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education, contents of noted, 307
"Private Schools in St. Louis, 1809-1821," by J. F. MCDERMOTT, 96-119
Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, contents of noted, 309
"Propaganda in the American Revolution," by CHARLES H. METZGER, 243-61
Prud'homme, Pierre, 300
Puebla, establishment of Jesuit college at, 181, 182-83
Pueblo Indians, 270, 274, 277
Quesada, Gonzalo Jiménez de, 266
Quesnel, Joseph, 214
Queylus, M. de, 280, 282
Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1938-1939, publication of noted, 232
Recollects, 289
Reconquest of New Mexico, 262-77
Regnier, Francis, 118
Relation de la Découverte, 9
Relation des descouvertes, 12, 16
Religious Architecture of New Mexico, publication of noted, 307
Renaudot, Eusèbe, 8, 13, 15, 16, 19, 23
Report 1938-1939 of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, contents of noted, 310
Revista de Historia de America, contents of noted, 308
Revolutionary War, propaganda in, 243-61
Rheims, College of, 83, 93
Richard, Gabriel, 223
Richards, Jane, 101
Rigauche, Mme., 96
Rio Bravo, location of, 20
Rio de Palmas, location of, 20
Rio Pánuco, location of, 20
Rivington, James, 249, 250, 252, 254
Rodríguez, Alonso, 183
Rogel, Juan, 165, 168, 178
Rousseau, Charles, 224
Rubio, Father, 179
Rúiz del Portillo, Gerónimo, 162, 165, 168, 169, 170
Russell, Mr., 116
Sayre, Francis Bowes, *The Way Forward,* revd., 62-64
Saint André de Montbron, Pierre de, 80
St. Bartholemew's Day, Massacre of, 78
St. Charles, Missouri, 110

St. Ignace, Michigan, 224
St. Louis Academy, 116
St. Louis College, 113, 117
St. Louis University, 112
St. Martin, Pierre, 97
Salamanca, University of, 164, 165, 167
Salcedo, Brother, 172
San Antonio de Valero, Mission of, 39-40, 41
San Bernardo, College of, 179
San Francisco de la Espada, Mission of, 43-44
San Gregorio, College of, 163, 179
San Ildefonso College, 175
San José de Aguayo, Mission of, 41-43
San Juan de Capistrano, Mission of, 43, 49
San Miguel, College of, 179
Sánchez, Alonzo, 179, 181, 182
Sánchez, Juan, 162
Sánchez, Pedro, 157-90
Santa Fé, 271, 272-74, 275
Santa Fé Archive, 262, 263
Santo Domingo, 272, 273
Sargent, Daniel, *Our Land and Our Lady,* revd., 64-66
Saulnier, Michael G., 117
Sawyer, James, 102-04, 105
Sayers, W. C. Berwick, 215
Scheive, Friedrich, 97
Sedelmayr, Father, 135
Sedeño, Antonio, 171, 172, 173, 178, 182
Segura, Bautista, 168
Seignelay, Jean Baptiste Colbert, marquis de, 5, 13
Septlivres, Isaac, 97, 98
Seri Indians, 139-40
Shea, J. G., 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 21
Shotwell, James T., *What Germany Forgot,* revd., 153-54
Shotwell, James T., and Deák, Francis, *Turkey at the Straits,* revd., 239-40
Sheep, in Texas missions, 52
Sibley, George C., 102
Sidonia, Duke of, 171
Sigüenza, Carlos de, 271
Sir William Blackstone, by D. A. Lockmiller, revd., 149-50
Sirmond, Jacques, 81
Sixtus V, Pope, 78
Smith, Samuel, 117
Society of Jesus, 279; see Jesuits
Sodalities, foundation of by Pedro Sánchez, 187-88
Sommervogel, Carlos, 83, 84
Sonora Indians, 125-35
South Atlantic Quarterly, contents of noted, 309
Southwick, Solomon, 251, 254
The Spy, propaganda in during American Revolution, 247
Steinefer, Johann, 124
Stewart, C., 102
Studies, series of noted, 142
Sullivan, Hartley, 107
Sullivan, Patrick, 115, 117, 118
Systema Bibliothecae Collegii Parisiensis Societatis Jesu, 77, 86, 91, 93, 192, 213
Talon, Jean, 284
Taos, 273
Tepotozotlán, mission activities in, 181-82
Teresa de Jésus, Santa, 266, 270
Tesson, Mr., 112, 116
"The Texas Missions in 1785," by J. AUTREY DABBS (tr.), 38-58
The Way Forward, by F. B. Sayre, revd., 62-64
Thévenot, Melchisedech, 21, 22
Thomas Riley Marshal, Hoosier Statesman, publication of noted, 143
Thomassy, R., 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16
Thomson, Charles, 246
Tompkins, George, 98
Tonti, Henry de, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 18, 19, 20, 21-22, 23, 25, 26-27, 298, 300, 302, 303, 304
Tories, 244, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255
Tractatus de Officiis Confesarii, 84
Trent, Council of, 165, 266
TREUTLEIN, THEODORE E., "The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician," 120-41
Trudeau, Jean Baptiste, 96, 117
Turkey at the Straits, by J. T. Shotwell and F. Deák, revd., 239-40
Turner, Otis, 113
Twitchell, R. E., 262
University of Alcalá, 158-61, 162, 167
University of Louvain, 84
University of Paris, 78, 79
University of Salamanca, 164-65, 167
University of Valladolid, 162-63
Urban VIII, Pope, 243
Valverde, Antonio, 276
Van Hirtum, A. C., 110-11
Vargas, Alonso de, 266, 267
Vargas, Diego de, 264-77
Vargas, Francisco de, 265, 266
Vargas, Garci Pérez de, 265
Vargas, Gutiérrez de, 266
Vargas, Juan de, 265
Vargas, Juan Manuel de, 267
Vargas, Lorenzo de, 265, 266
Vega, Garcilaso de la, 3
Velasco, Viceroy, 184, 190
Venegas, Hernán de, 266
Venegas, Juana, 266

Verger, Rafael José, 38-39
Villagutierre, Juan de, 276
Villarreal, Brother, 168
Villaseca, Alonzo, 172, 175-77
Villermont, Cabart de, 16
Villiers, Marc de, 13, 15
Virginia Gazette, propaganda in during American Revolution, 256, 260
Voltaire, 79
Ward, John, 115
Warren, Joseph, 251
Wars of the Iroquois, by G. T. Hunt, revd., 236-39
Washington, George, 258
Welch, James E., 105, 108, 110, 113, 114
Western Mission Academy, 108, 110
What Germany Forgot, by J. T. Shotwell, revd., 153-54
Whigs, 260
William Salter, Western Torchbearer, publication of noted, 143
Wilson, Moses E., 116, 117
Winsor, J., 11, 12, 15
With a Sketch Book Along the Old Mission Trail, publication of noted, 307
Xavier, Francis, 167

CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL UNION



3 0311 00147 6535

BX 940 .I342 v.22

Mid-America: an historical review.

3 0311 00147 6535